

NAMIBIA 1979 : ANOTHER ANGOLA?

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THESIS

NAMIBIA 1979 : ANOTHER ANGOLA?

by

David Malcolm Stone

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Thesis Advisor:

J. Valenta

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Namibia 1979 : Another Angola?

by

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Lieutenant, United States Navy
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requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

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ABSTRACT

The struggle for majority rule in southern Africa is today a subject of great concern. It is truly an area of Great Power involvement as evidenced by the recent events in Angola and Mozambique. The transition of Namibia from a territory illegally occupied by South Africa to an independent nation is a critical issue. The question of whether its independence will come through a peaceful UN sponsored plan or through the "armed struggle" of the liberation group SWAPO is yet to be determined. This thesis examines the complex factors involved in Namibia's transition process. The roles of the various actors are described and the similarities to the Angola crisis of 1975 analyzed. Particular attention is paid to recent Soviet-Cuban activities in the region. Finally, the possible scenarios for Namibia's transition process are developed and the role of the U.S. in this critical area scrutinized.



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I. INTRODUCTION

A. THE TRANSITION PROCESS

The transition of Namibia from an international territory illegally occupied by the Republic of South Africa to an independent nation is today a subject of great concern. The struggle for majority rule throughout Africa, superpower competition in the area intensified by events in Angola, and South Africa's policies of apartheid further complicate the transition process.

The manner in which Namibia achieves its independence is a critical factor. It is during the vital transition process that this new nation will set a course that will determine its future economic, political, ethnic and military stability. It will also determine the amount of international recognition the new government will receive once it is installed. As Namibia assumes its place in the international arena the degree of support it receives from the African community, the Soviet aligned countries, other Third World nations, and the industrial democracies will be directly related to the transition process it has undergone on its way to independence.

U.S. policy in southern Africa is being reexamined very carefully at this time. There are demonstrations on U.S. college campuses protesting various trade agreements with the Republic of South Africa. There is a growing fear among some that linkage of Soviet/Cuban involvement in Africa with S.A.L.T. could jeopardize any agreement being reached. Yet there is

also alarm in many quarters that the emerging nations of Rhodesia and Namibia will follow the bloody path of Angola toward independence.

It is the objective of this thesis to examine the Namibian struggle for independence. What is the conflict? Who are the actors involved? Is there a threat to the U.S. or its allies? What lessons can the U.S. draw from Angola? What transition scenarios can be envisioned for Namibia? What are the U.S. policy options? Then finally, why should the U.S. even get involved in Africa? These are all important questions that will be addressed; for they are the issues that confront U.S. policy makers as they attempt to deal with the complex problems of Namibian independence.

B. THE CONFLICT OVER NAMIBIA

In January 1976 the U.N. Security Council unanimously supported Resolution #385 which declared: "in order that the people of Namibia be enabled to freely determine their own future, it is imperative that free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations be held for the whole of Namibia as one political entity." [Ref. 1, p. 47]. Unsatisfactory progress by South Africa regarding fulfillment of this resolution led to an unprecedented action on the part of the U.N. in December of 1976. By a vote of 107 to 6 the U.N. General Assembly voted to support "armed struggle in Namibia." The U.S. voted against the resolution along with Britain, France, West Germany, Belgium, and Luxembourg. It marked the first time that the U.N. had ever endorsed armed struggle by

a national liberation movement! [Ref. 2, p. 32].

The conflict over Namibia did not start on that history making day at the U.N. On the contrary, it can be traced back to a point many years earlier. Namibia was a German colony until World War I when it was surrendered to the South Africans. It eventually became a trust territory of the League of Nations which later mandated it to South Africa. The question of whether the U.N. was responsible for territories previously entrusted to the League of Nations and, therefore, whether the U.N. could order the South African government to grant Namibia independence became the subject of a series of rulings of the International Court of Justice at the Hague. One of the most recent of these came up in June 1971 when the world court rules that, "the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia being illegal, South Africa is under obligation to withdraw its administration from Namibia immediately and thus end its occupation of the territory." The court went on to rule that, "Members of the U.N. are under obligation to recognize the illegality of South Africa's presence in Namibia and the invalidity of its acts on behalf of Namibia, and to refrain from any acts or dealings with the Government of South Africa, implying recognition of the legality of its administration in that territory." South Africa's Prime Minister was quick to respond that this ruling reflected the results of political maneuvering at the Hague rather than the fruits of objective adjudication. [Ref. 3, p. 181]. The 1971 ruling nevertheless gave international legal validity to various U.N.

resolutions over Namibia; particularly the Security Council Resolution of 1966, which terminated South Africa's mandate, and the resolution of January 30, 1970 that called on member states not to deal with the South African government in matters concerning Namibia. The latter resolution also set up a special subcommittee to study ways of putting the U.N. resolutions into effect given South Africa's consistent refusal to withdraw from Namibia. [Ref. 4, p. 30].

The successful revolutions in Mozambique and Angola added fuel to Namibia's burning desire for independence during the 1970's. There is at this time intense struggling for political control of the country. The black nationalist group SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization) is recognized by the U.N. and O.A.U. as the sole representative political movement in Namibia. The group has a wide range of supporters including: the Scandinavian countries, various communist powers (principally Soviet aligned), and key front-line states (Tanzania, Zambia and Angola). [Ref. 5, p. 19]. SWAPO has consistently maintained that the solution to Namibia's transition problems rests in the following demands it has made to the South African government. First, South Africa must release all political prisoners, detainees, and restrictees. Second, South Africa must talk directly with SWAPO regarding the method of transferring power over to "the people of Namibia." Third, South Africa must withdraw its armed forces from Namibia and end its repression of Namibia's population. Fourth, South Africa must recognize the unity of the people

of Namibia as an independent sovereign and unitary state. Fifth, South Africa must recognize the United Nations as the supervisor and controller of initial Namibian elections. /Ref. 6/. These demands and SWAPO's Marxist orientation has caused fighting between the group and South African forces for the past twelve years.

South Africa has not agreed with the international community's actions regarding Namibia. Its greatest fear is that a Marxist government in the form of SWAPO will soon be established on South Africa's border. It therefore desires to control the transition process to ensure that SWAPO never gains power. South Africa's desires could be summarized in the following manner. First, the security of Namibian and South African borders must be maintained. Second, the property, rights, and positions of the people of Namibia must be protected. Third, Walvis Bay is part of South Africa and its transfer over to Namibia is a matter for future negotiation. Fourth, SWAPO is not the sole representative of the Namibian people. It is a Marxist terrorist group which does not represent the true desires of the people of Namibia.

Since early in 1977 five Western powers have been attempting to negotiate a settlement between SWAPO and the Republic of South Africa. These powers include the USA, France, Britain, West Germany, and Canada. Negotiations have not been easy. In February 1978 the initial settlement proceedings broke down with the following statement by the South African Foreign Minister, R. F. Botha, "I am not willing to

be a party to handing over that territory to Marxists, putting it in ashes and flames." He added that, "by Marxists he meant SWAPO, which is fighting a guerrilla war against the South African army from bases in southern Angola." /Ref. 7, p. 27. Three key disputes emerged from these ill fated negotiations. First, South Africa's insistence on controlling Walvis Bay even though it is the only deep water port in Namibia. Second, South Africa's plan to maintain troops in Namibia until elections were over in that country. Third, South Africa's refusal to recognize SWAPO, (as the U.N. and O.A.U had already done) as the sole political representative of the Namibian people. With negotiations at a standstill over these issues the Western group feared that South Africa might impose its own "internal settlement" in Namibia through the mechanisms of the Turnhalle constitutional proposals. These proposals were centered on an idea of ethnic representation which the West warned South Africa they would not accept. Hopes were renewed when all parties agreed to resume discussion by March 1978. The results of these discussions were seen when on 10 April 1978 the five "Western Powers" presented their settlement proposal to the U.N. Security Council. The proposal included the following key elements:

(1) A Special Representative of the Security Council would be appointed to ensure the establishment of conditions in Namibia conducive to free and fair elections. He must be able to satisfy himself as to the fairness and appropriateness of all aspects of the transitional and electoral processes and

and will be assisted by adequate U.N. civil and military contingents;

(2) Elections under UN supervision and control in which all adult Namibians will be free to participate will be held to select a constituent assembly which will write a constitution for independent Namibia. The target date for independence was the end of 1978;

(3) South Africa will carry out a phased withdrawal of all except 1,500 of its troops prior to the electoral campaign. The residual South African force would be confined under U.N. supervision to one or two bases in "northern Namibia" until one week after certification of the election results, when they would be withdrawn;

(4) All political prisoners, wherever held, must be released and permitted to return to Namibia to participate in the electoral process. Exiles must also be permitted to return.

The proposal included a detailed timetable explaining when each of the required actions was to be carried out.

South Africa accepted the Western proposal on 25 April 1978. SWAPO was still considering the Western plan when South Africa conducted a surprise attack against what it claimed was a "SWAPO terrorist camp" 150 miles inside the Angola border at Cassinga. [Ref. 8, p. A17]. Nearly a year of complex discussion seemed lost as once again negotiations were broken off, this time by SWAPO. Criticism of South Africa's actions was widespread especially since an agree-

ment had appeared to be so close at hand. The Western "contact" group was left to search for another opening through which they might hope to regain the momentum they had lost because of South Africa's surprise attack in Angola.

The meeting of the five African frontline states in Luanda, Angola on 10 June 78 provided just the leverage the Western group needed. Attending the meeting were Presidents Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Agostinho Neto of Angola, and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, plus Mozambique's planning minister, Marcelino dos Santos and Botswana's vice president, Quet Masire. Sam Nujoma, SWAPO president, was also in attendance. The two day summit ended with SWAPO agreeing to resume negotiations. The African states designated President Nyerere to work with the West on the two main obstacles blocking a final settlement: the status of Walvis Bay, Namibia's main port, and the location of South African troops during the interim period leading up to elections. [Ref. 9, p. A14]. Even with these nagging issues remaining, hopes ran high that the West would be able to convince SWAPO to accept the plan that South Africa had agreed to shortly before the raid on Cassinga. Then on July 12, 1978, seven weeks after South Africa had accepted the plan, the following communique was issued by the five Western nations and SWAPO shortly after their meeting in Luanda, Angola: "Certain points in the proposal of the five powers were clarified and the two delegations accordingly agreed to proceed to the United Nations Security Council." [Ref. 10, p. 15].

Immediately the U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim appointed Marthi Ahtisaari, the U.N. commissioner for Namibia, as the special U.N. representative to work with the South African administrator general of the territory, Judge Marthinus Steyn in arranging the election process. As a result of Ahtisaari's fact finding mission the U.N. Secretary General was able to announce on 30 Aug, 1978 the U.N. plan for Namibia's transition to independence. This proposal was sharply criticized by South Africa because of modifications that had been made to the original Western plan that they had agreed to on 25 April 1978. In particular Waldheim's proposals for putting a 7,500 man U.N. force in Namibia when the original Western plan had called for only 5,000 and also the decision to delay the elections till April 1979 vice conducting them in December 1978 as originally agreed upon. [Ref. 11, p. A20]. These key problem areas eventually led to a breakdown in the proceedings.

On 20 September 1978 South African Prime Minister John Vorster announced two momentous decisions. He was resigning as Prime Minister and South Africa was officially rejecting the United Nations independence plan for Namibia. Elections would be held under South African auspices prior to the end of 1978 and the body that was elected in those elections would decide whether to: (1) accept and implement the original Western proposal (2) accept the U.N. Security Council plan or (3) draw up its own constitution. [Ref. 12, p. 17]. Once again this astounding decision caught the Western group by surprise. Faced with demands by African nations to implement economic

sanctions against South Africa the five Western Foreign Ministers flew to Pretoria on 16 October 1978 to confer with the new Prime Minister Pieter Botha. They failed to get South Africa to call off the elections. The only apparent concession was South Africa's agreement that the election they were conducting on December 4-8 was "an internal exercise to elect internal leaders." /Ref. 13, p. 47.

The possibility of U.N. economic sanctions increased when on 10 November 1978 a resolution threatening future economic measures against South Africa was passed by the U.N. Security Council by a vote of 10-0. The five Western powers abstained. The Waldheim plan meanwhile had been approved of in Security Council Resolution #435 despite South Africa's protests. The stage was now set to see if South Africa would really conduct its own elections in Namibia in the face of international condemnation. /Ref. 14, p. A17.

Only two political parties with any significant following were willing to run in South Africa's "go it alone" elections. SWAPO and the liberal NNF (Namibian National Front) refused to run in any South African controlled election out of fear that they might lend credibility to the results and foreclose the possibility of an eventual U.N. supervised election. SWAPO also felt it would never get a fair chance unless the South Africans were removed totally from the election process. Thus only AKTUR an all white right wing party opposing multi-racial government, the DTA (Democratic Turnhalle Alliance) a multiracial coalition of ethnically based conservative parties

backed by Pretoria and three other smaller parties participated in the elections held December 4-8 in Namibia. South Africa did indeed conduct the elections as planned. However, on the eve of the elections assurances were given to the Western group that South Africa would remain the legitimate authority over the territory, thus alleviating western fears that Pretoria would renounce any control over the newly elected leaders. In addition, South Africa pledged to meet with the newly elected officials to discuss plans for implementing the U.N. plan for independence. /Ref. 15, p. A187.

Meanwhile, the results of Namibia's election were predictable. The Pretoria supported DTA polled 82 percent of the vote and controlled 41 seats of the 50 member constituent assembly. Its leader Dirk Mudge spoke out on the possibility of another election under U.N. supervision stating that, "It all depends on whether an agreement can be reached on certain conditions." /Ref. 16, p. A247. It did not take long for the Western Group and the U.N. to find out what those conditions were! As a D.T.A. official had stated earlier in December, "the party would demand that the U.N. retract its support for SWAPO and adopt a more even handed posture. Request that Angola and Zambia, which have borders with Namibia, close SWAPO bases in their territories, and that the U.N. supervisory force be neutral rather than favorable to SWAPO (as most third world and nonaligned nations are)." /Ref. 177.

The Western Group, the black African nations, and SWAPO were thus left out in the cold as 1978 came to a close. Their

"wait and see" attitude toward the newly elected DTA officials had resulted in the issuance of a group of almost unacceptable demands. Only through long drawn out negotiations could a new agreement for elections in 1979 hope to be reached. For SWAPO it meant a temporary end to any dreams of a peaceful settlement in 1978, and meant a return trip to the Soviets for more arms to fight the war of liberation for another year. For the black African nations it meant another year of turmoil in southern Africa. For South Africa it meant another year of international condemnation and internal strife. For the United States it marked a low point in its influence on the continent of Africa. The failure of the U.S. to enforce strong sanctions against South Africa in order to force it into line was looked upon as a sign of selfishness and weakness by the black African nations and by SWAPO as well. [Ref. 67]. On the other hand, the U.S. relationship with South Africa suffered equally as much. The strong condemnation of South Africa's policies not only in Namibia but those concerning its policy of apartheid left the leaders confused and deeply hurt. [Ref. 187]. The implications for U.S. foreign policy concerning Namibia in 1979 are indeed dire. The past year had been one of diplomatic maneuvering which proved unsuccessful in bringing about a peaceful solution. The stage is now set for more "greatpower" involvement, should negotiations fail to improve rapidly. U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., Andrew Young's words may well turn out to be prophetic for 1979 when he stated: "a failure of South Africa to come back to the bargaining table and help salvage

the diplomatic solution to Namibia's future would amount to literally stamping the passport of the Soviet Union to come into Southern Africa in full force." /Ref. 19, p. 23/. That passport seems well on its way toward being stamped.

II. NAMIBIA : THE INTERNAL FACTORS

A. GEOGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS

The importance of geography in shaping events is something that should not be overlooked. Namibia, also known as South West Africa, is a large desert like territory located along the Atlantic seaboard in the southwestern corner of Africa. It shares borders with South Africa, Botswana, Zambia and Angola, as depicted in Fig. 1. The total area of Namibia is 318,261 square miles which is almost four times the size of the United Kingdom. [Ref. 20, p. 37]. The entire western coast of Namibia borders on the Atlantic Ocean with Walvis Bay being the only major port. It is a naturally sheltered harbor with a channel dredged to the ports controlling depth of 10 meters (33 feet) at low water. There is only one main quay, a tanker berth, and a large fishing harbor. The port facilities are modern but limited and the repair facilities are mainly for the fishing fleet and offer only minor services. Luderitz is located roughly 400 kilometers to the south of Walvis Bay and is Namibia's secondary port. Luderitz has a very shallow harbor and thus cargo work has to be done entirely by lighter. However, there are presently plans to dredge the harbor in order to accommodate normal ocean-going cargo vessels. There are no major shipyards or naval bases in Namibia. The South Africans have recently expanded the Rooikop military base in Walvis Bay and if necessary could use the port as a contingency naval staging area. Walvis Bay

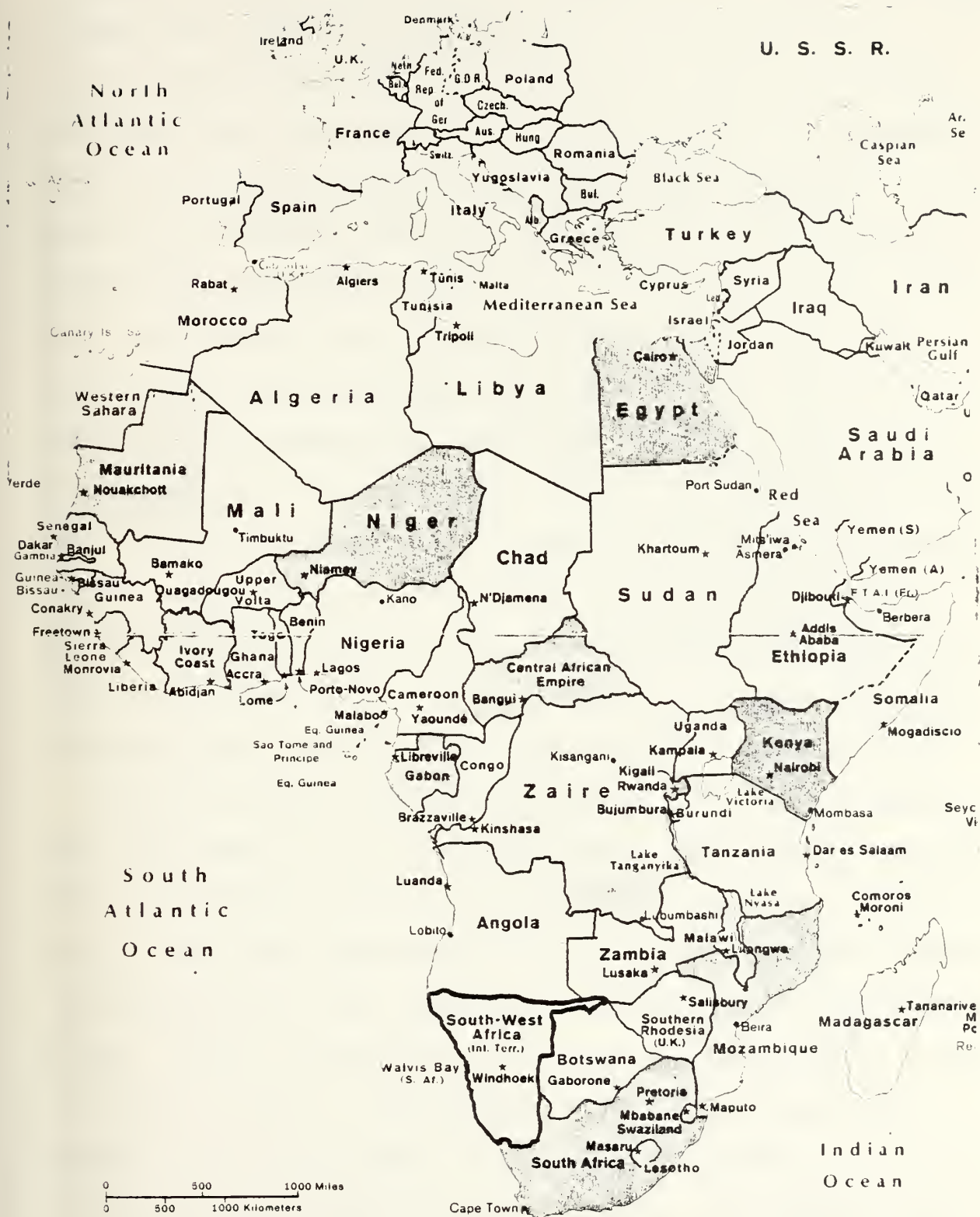


Figure 1. Location of Namibia

also holds the distinction of being the second largest city in Namibia as well as being the center of the country's largest fishing and fish processing industry. The population of the city was 23,500 in 1970, of which thirty percent were white. The port plays a key role in the negotiations for independence, since South Africa claims it is part of their Republic. Walvis Bay was proclaimed a British Crown Territory in 1878 and was subsequently annexed to the Cape of Good Hope in 1884. SWAPO does not recognize this claim and thus the port has been a bone of contention throughout the negotiations. The city is Namibia's only deep water port and as such may be being used by South Africa as a bargaining chip in the talks concerning the transition process. In the meantime SWAPO claims the port is part of Namibia and South Africa considers it a subject for future discussion with the new government that comes into office. Strategically, the city would be a vital supply port as Luanda was to Angola during the revolution there in 1975.

Namibia with no real navigable rivers, frequent droughts and large areas of little rainfall has a great need for water. The only perennial water in the territory occurs in the principal rivers that form Namibia's southern and northern borders. The Orange River, which forms the southern border with South Africa, rises in Lesotho and flows west to the Atlantic, near the diamond center of Oranjemund. The Kunene River rises in Angola but flows southwest to the Atlantic, forming the northwestern border between Namibia and Angola. The Okavango River also rises in Angola but flows southeast forming part of the north central border with Angola. The river then passes

through the end of the Caprivi Strip and forms part of the Caprivi/Botswana border before emptying into the Zambizi River. The Zambizi river rises in Zambia and flows southeastward, forming part of Namibia's northeast border with Zambia before continuing on to the Indian Ocean. None of these rivers are navigable in their Namibian sections by other than small native water craft. The remainder of the rivers in Namibia only flow with annual runoff; although some of the river beds mark underground "rivers" which contain some year round seepage. [Ref. 21]. In Namibia, water is a valuable resource needed for power, irrigation, and mineral exploration; in fact, the lack of it was one of the main factors holding up further exploitation of uranium reserves in Southwest Africa in the early 1970's. In recognition of this deficiency and expecting that political events in Southern Africa would permit long range development, South Africa invested heavily in two major hydroelectric projects. The projects are located in Mozambique and Angola. The Cunene River project in Angola is only nine miles north of the nearest border post and is an invaluable aid to the Namibian economy. It is also an important reminder of the vulnerability of South Africa regarding this valuable resource. In fact, one of South Africa's stated reasons for initially crossing into Angola in 1975 was to protect its water project area. This dependency on Angola based hydroelectric power is dangerous at best and lends itself to guerrilla warfare. [Ref. 22, p. 95]. If hostilities were to increase against SWAPO this vulnerability could be easily

exploited. By the same token the inability to navigate on Namibia's rivers seriously impacts on the transport and logistic operations within the country. These operations must be conducted by road or on rail. It is no coincidence that Namibia is far and away the best off country on the continent of Africa in regards to both rail and road transport facilities (measured in distance run related to population). /Ref. 5, p. 367. Should hostilities increase control of these roads and railways will be vital.

The terrain of Namibia is divided into three topographical regions. These are: (1) The Namib Desert, (2) The Great Escarpment and (3) The Kalahari Desert Belt. The Namib Desert, from which this territory is named is an extremely dry plain varying in width from 40 to 100 miles and running the entire Namibian coastline. It occupies approximately one-sixth of the country's area and is one of the world's most inhospitable deserts. The region is uninhabited with the exception of five isolated towns along the coast. There is heavy reef and shoal obstruction along the foreshore and this, combined with strong, cold off-shore ocean currents, has made the coast the scene of so many shipwrecks that the northern half of the Namib has become known as the Skeleton Coast. (See Figure 2 for geographic map of Namibia).

East of the Namib and up the abrupt mountainous wall of the Great Escarpment lies the broad band of the central plateau which stretches from the southern to the northern borders of the territory. The central plateau occupies about

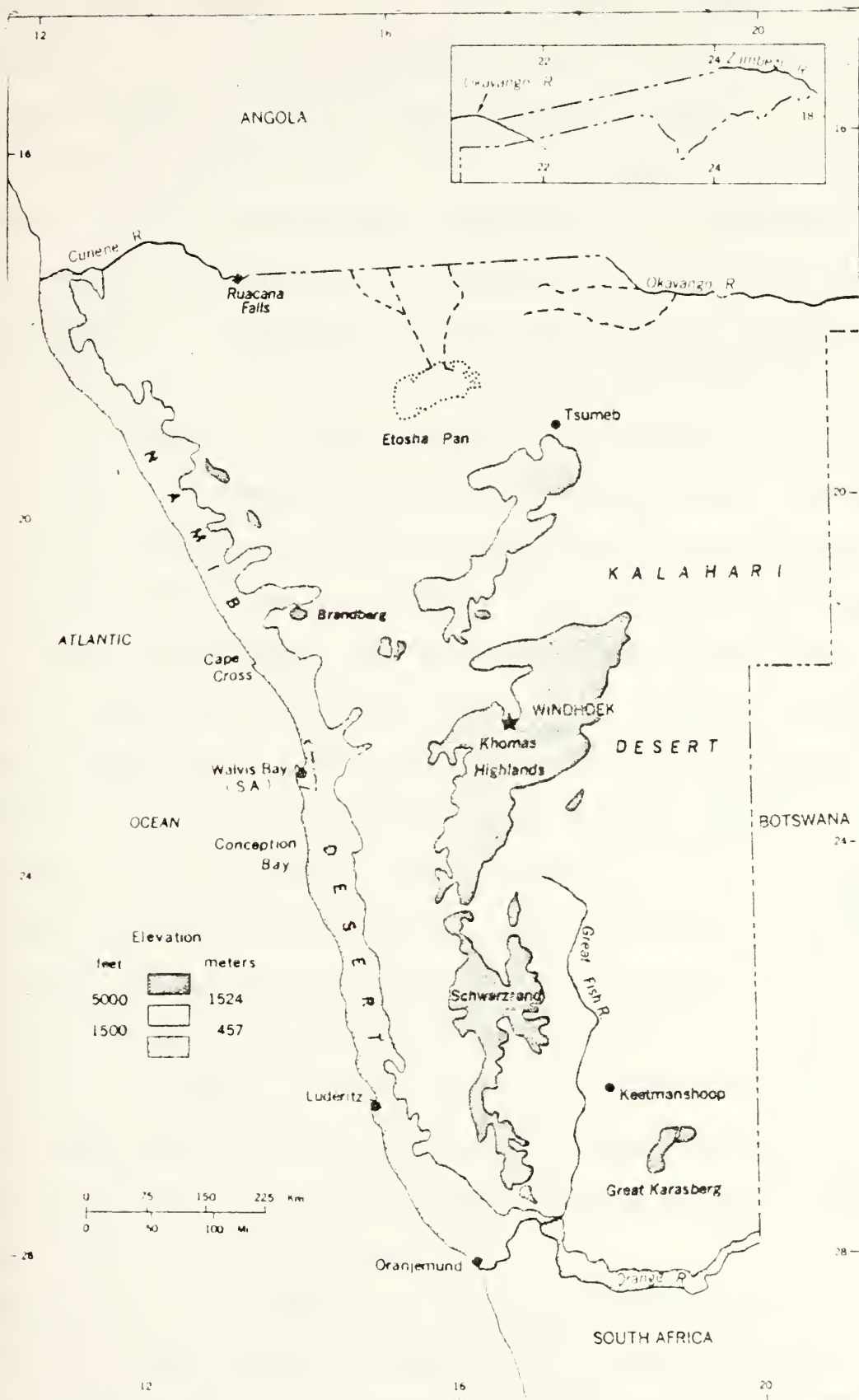


Figure 2. Geographic Map of Namibia

one-half of the country's area. This region is characterized by slightly rolling plains, broken by sand filled valleys, rock outcroppings and short, rugged mountain ranges.

The Kalahari Desert Belt occupies the remaining one third of Namibia. It is the westward extension of the Kalahari Desert, which lies primarily in Botswana. It is a semi-arid region composed of limestone beds and sands, with a relatively flat surface. The vegetation varies from scattered thorn scrub in the south to dry pasture grass and shrubs in the north.

The climate of Namibia is generally hot and dry. Temperatures in the coastal regions are modified by the cool Benguela Current while the increased altitude modifies plateau temperature. There are basically two seasons. A hot summer from December to February and a cool, dry winter from March through November. Mean annual rainfall over the plateau increases northwards from less than 100 mm on the southern border to over 610mm in the northeast. Most of the rain falls during the summer but it is unreliable and years of drought may be experienced. Grasslands cover most of the plateau area and are richer and wetter in the north but merge into poor scrub in the south and east. Only 30 percent of the territory receives enough annual rainfall to support minimum dryland agriculture. [Refs. 21 and 23]. See Figure 3 for depiction of annual average precipitation.

Namibia is a very arid land. Over one-half of it is desert like. The terrain is rugged and the country lacks internal navigable rivers. These are the conditions that the

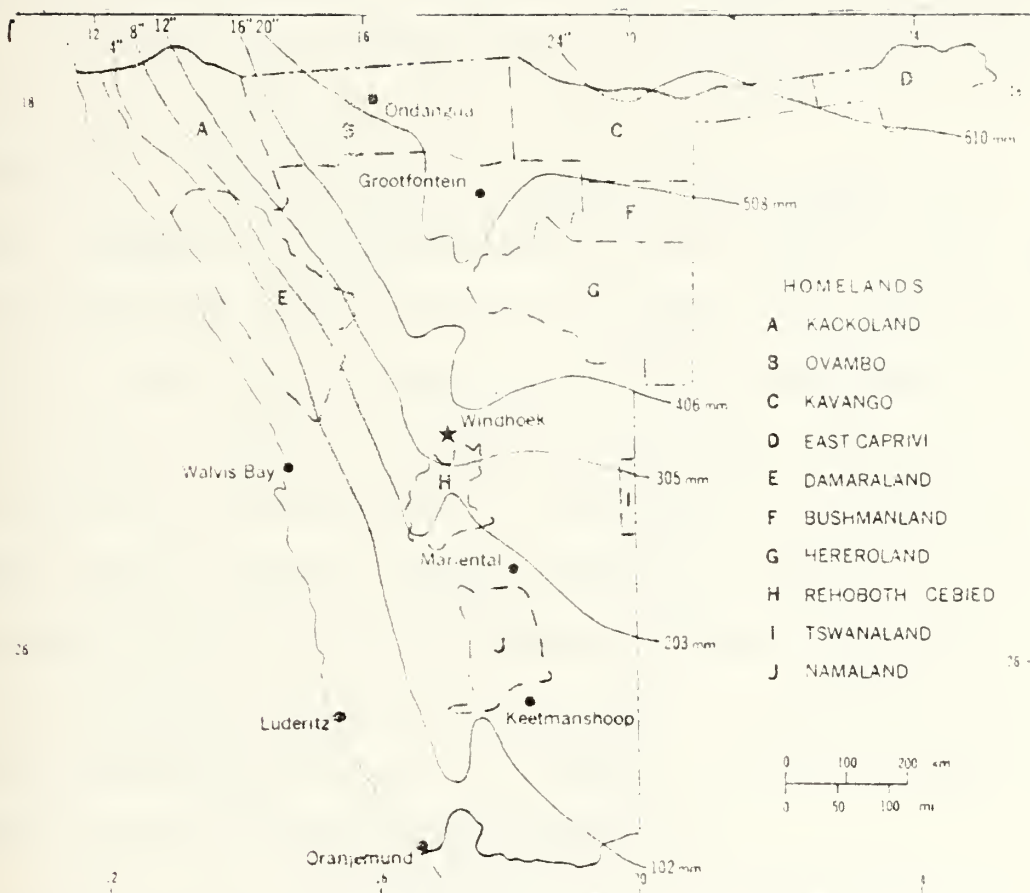


Figure 3. Average Annual Precipitation in Namibia

liberation movement and the South African army face. It is not easy to fight a guerrilla war in Namibia. South Africa's control of the major roads, railways, and air make it exceptionally difficult. Thus the borders play a very important part in SWAPO's strategy. It is across them that SWAPO forces can flee to their sanctuaries in Angola and Zambia. There the forces can resupply, train and hide from the South African Army. (See Figure 4 for depiction of roads, railways and boundaries of Namibia).

The role of geography is not lost on the great powers either. Namibia is located right off the Cape oil route where over 22,000 ships pass each year bringing vital supplies to the West. This part of the ocean is also considered to be a difficult one in which to detect submarines; since sonar devices tend to be ineffective in the region. A 4,900 mile nuclear missile aboard a Soviet submarine concealed in the area might be relatively invulnerable. [Ref. 24, p. 97]. Such are the intrigues of Namibian geography, a territory with unique characteristics that will impact on strategy and ultimately on the history of the land itself.

B. ETHNIC GROUPINGS

Namibia is a country of roughly 852,000 inhabitants, approximately 12 percent of which are white. See Figure 5. Both ethnologically and linguistically the indigenous African people of the territory are of diverse origins. The minority white population is primarily South African, British and German. About 70 percent of the whites speak Afrikaans, 23

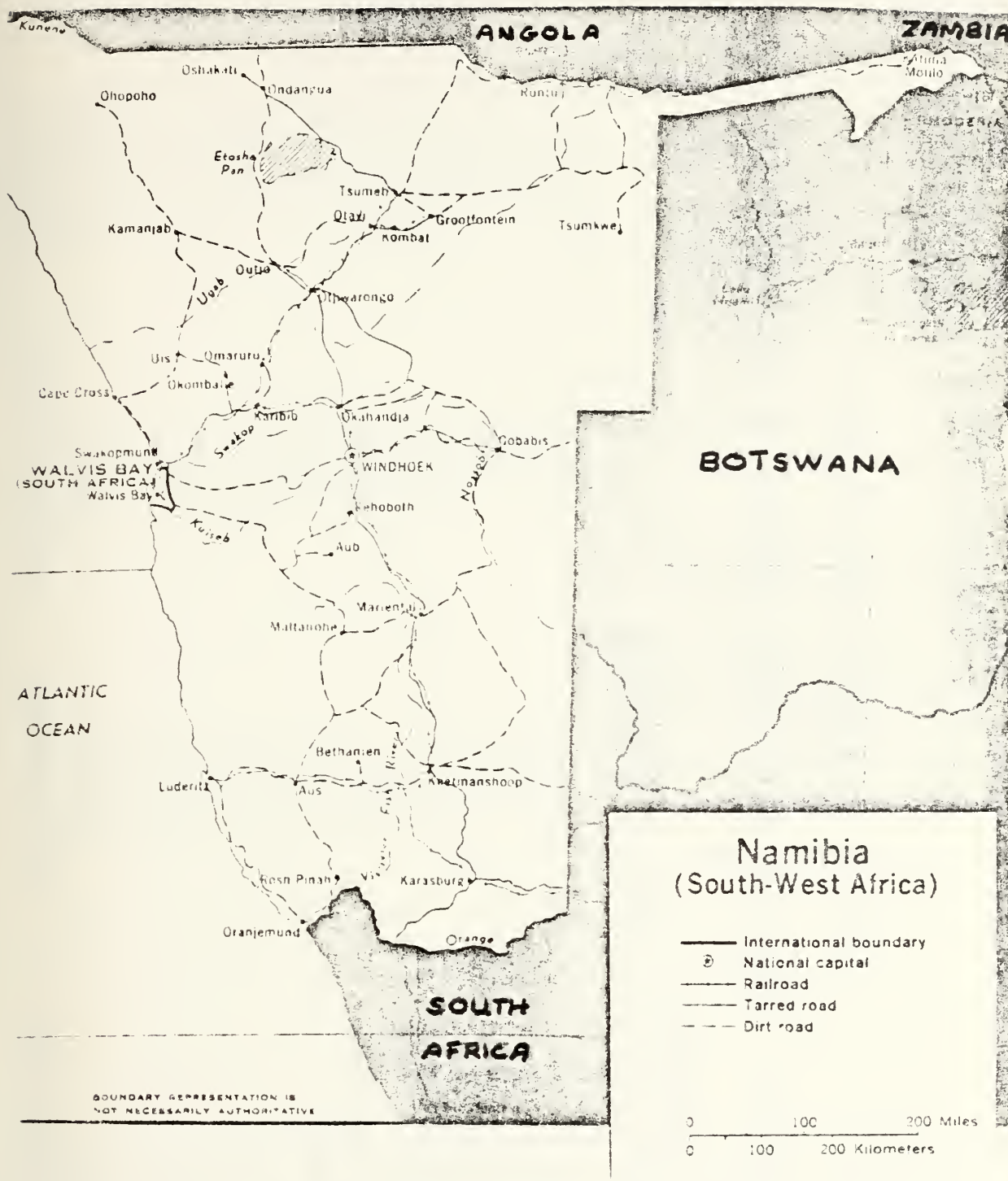


Figure 4. Roads, Railways and Boundaries of Namibia

<u>Population Group</u>	<u>1970¹ (census)</u>	<u>1974² (estimate)</u>	<u>1970/74 % of Pop.</u>
Ovambos	352,640	396,000	46.3/46.5
Whites	90,583	99,000	11.9/11.6
Damaras	66,291	75,000	8.7/8.8
Hereros	50,589	56,000	6.6/6.6
Kavangos	49,512	56,000	6.5/6.6
Namas	32,935	37,000	4.3/7.3
Coloureds	28,512	32,000	3.7/3.8
East Caprivians	25,580	29,000	3.3/3.4
Bushmen	2,830	26,000	3.0/3.0
Rehoboth Basters	16,649	19,000	2.2/2.2
Kaokolanders	6,567	7,000	.9/.8
Tswanas	4,407	5,000	.6/.6
others	15,089	15,000	2.0/1.8

Notes: ¹Population Census of 6 May 1970

²Estimate

Source: Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics

Figure 5. Population 1970 and 1974

percent German, and 10 percent English. Whereas roughly two-thirds of the African population lives in the northern third of the country, the whites have settled mostly on the central plateau in and around the capital city of Windhoek. Figure 6 delineates how roughly 75 percent of the white population live in the cities. They represent the best educated and wealthiest segment of the population. The Afrikaners are the most powerful white group in Namibia both numerically and in a political sense as well. Over 40 percent of them work in government offices or in state-owned corporations such as the railway. The Germans occupy the middle class in the white community. They are moderates and thus form politically between the Afrikaners and the Africans. Most of them are willing to negotiate with the Africans and are more open minded concerning the formation of an independent and multiracial government. Their job structure ranges from business and industry to farming. The remaining English speaking Namibians are mainly urban people. They, like the rest of the white community, are business oriented and deeply involved in commerce, banking, and industry. [Ref. 25, p. 8-9].

The largest national group in the territory is the Ovambo. It consists of seven tribal or community groups and constitutes about 46% of the total population of Namibia. The Ovambo occupy the northeastern part of the country along with the Kavango and East Caprivians (there is also a number of Bushmen in the region). The area has more water resources and is well wooded and thus these groups are either farmers or

Urban Areas in Namibia

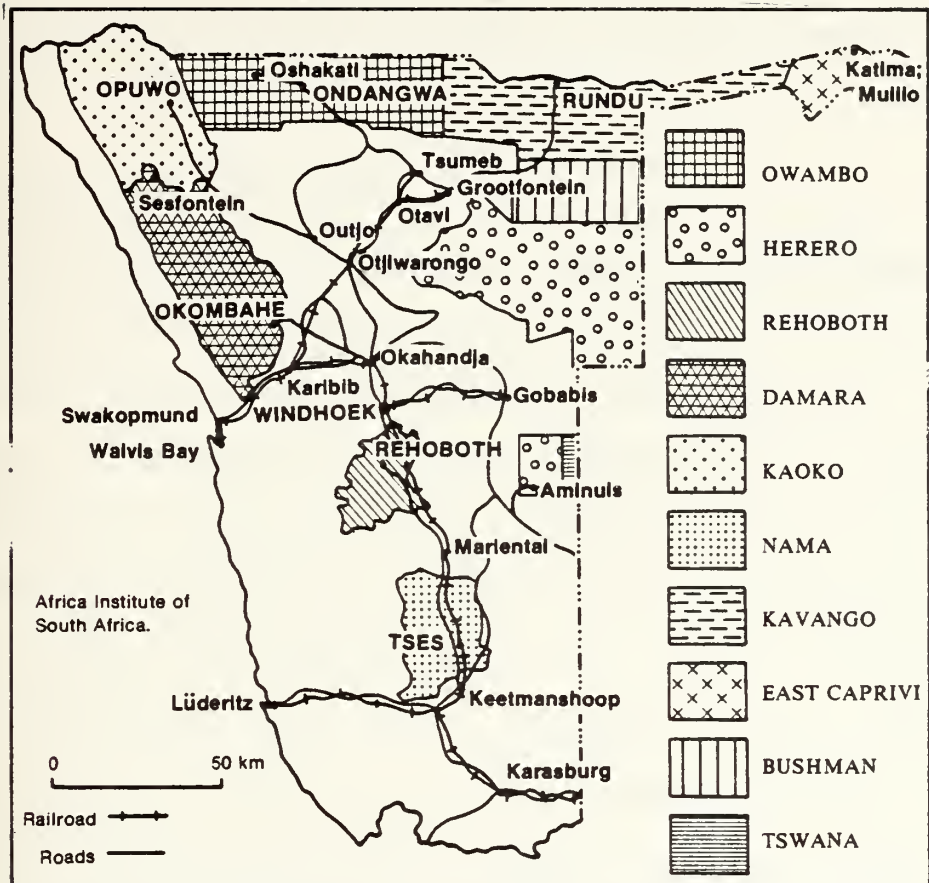
<u>Urban Area</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>White Population</u>	<u>Percent White</u>
Windhoek	61,300	27,400	44.7
Walvis Bay	21,700	7,400	34.1
Tsumeb	12,300	4,600	37.4
Keetmanshoop	10,300	3,300	32.0
Otjiwarongo	8,000	2,600	32.5
Luderitz	6,600	1,700	25.8
Swakopmund	5,700	2,400	42.1
Rehoboth	5,300	100	1.9
Mariental	4,600	1,300	28.3
Grootfontein	4,600	1,400	30.4
Gobabis	4,400	1,600	36.7

Source: Africa Institute, Bulletin 14,4 (1976):105.

Figure 6. Urban Area Distribution

herders. Throughout their history they have shown little interest in the central and southern portions of Namibia where conditions are not suitable for their traditional occupations. Thus until recent political developments they have had relatively little contact with the Nama, Damar, and Herero tribes who occupy the central part of Namibia. There is intense competition among these three groups for control of their region's sparse pasture land. It is indeed frustrating for the black African since his occupation is farming yet the best agricultural lands, and in fact the entire commercial farming industry, is in the hands of the whites.

The various ethnic groups have had a greater degree of interaction of late due to factors such as urbanization, industrialization and the demand for African labor. These influences are minor however when compared to the impact of the political development of Namibia as it heads toward independence. [Ref. 26, p. 2-3]. (See Figure 7 for Ethnic/Political Distribution in Namibia). The murder of Herero chieftain, Clemens Kapuuo in April 1978 illustrated the implications of this increased political activity. Kapuuo had long been a supporter of the DTA and thus SWAPO, which is heavily supported by Ovambos, was implicated as the probable assassin. Angry, grief stricken Hereros all over the country took up arms and headed for Ovambo country. South African police eventually controlled the unrest but the implications did not go unnoticed. In the words of Dr. Lukas de Vries, President of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church, "I fear there is going to



Source: Africa Institute of South Africa

POLITICAL PARTY

ETHNIC BACKING

SWAPO

OWAMBO/KAVANGO

DTA

HERERO/KAOKO/NAMA/
EAST CAPRIVI/BUSHMAN
TSWANA

NNF

DAMARA/REHOBOH

AKTUR

WHITES

Figure 7. Ethnic/Political Distribution in Namibia

be bloodshed, maybe even a bloodbath." [Ref. 27, p. 48]. The growing of ethnic divisions only serves to complicate an already complex situation as Namibia struggles toward independence.

C. POLITICAL GROUPINGS

South Africa has tried to organize a government in Namibia based on ethnic groupings. In 1975 delegates from Namibia's 11 ethnic groups met in Windhoek. The conference that ensued called for independence for the territory by 31 December 1978 and delivered constitutional proposals to the South African government in March 1977. The meeting of this group was dubbed the "Turnhalle Conference" after the name of the building in which the participants met. The results of the conference were labeled by SWAPO as a rubberstamping of South African desires. The international community did not accept the results either since SWAPO had not been involved in the proceedings.

There are presently four distinct political groups in Namibia. There is the right wing reactionary group consisting mainly of AKTUR. This group is noted for its opposition to a new status quo. It opposes radical changes in the existing social, economic, and political structure. The second group is the conservative Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, (DTA), consisting of various ethnic oriented political parties. It objects to radical changes in the social, economic and political structures but is not opposed to gradual change. This group is heavily backed by Pretoria and emerged a large victor in

the December 1978 elections conducted by South Africa. The DTA is made up of most of the elements that attended the Turnhalle Conference and is led by the white moderate, Dirk Mudge. The party suffers from its association with the conference and the "sellout" label SWAPO tries to attach to it. The third group is the liberal Namibian National Front. It deplores the continued control of Namibia by South Africa and sees itself as a middle way between SWAPO and the DTA. Gerson Veii, a nationalist who spent several years in South African prisons, and liberal Afrikaner lawyer, Bryan O'Linn, are the most prominent members. The group has recently been hurt by its affiliation with ex-SWAPO member, Andreas Shipanga, who SWAPO had accused of "selling out to the South Africans." Since his return to the political arena Shipanga has failed to gain significant support and is seen by many as a "lightweight" in Namibia's political scene. [Ref. 28]. The fourth group is the social revolutionary group represented by SWAPO. This group has been endorsed by the O.A.U. and U.N. as the "sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people." SWAPO rejects a capitalistic free market economy in favour of state control and planned collectivism. It is presently fighting a prolonged war of liberation against the Armed Forces of South Africa. [Ref. 29, p. 25-27]. The following sections will summarize the role of each of the four principal political parties in Namibia. The party's ethnic base, its principles, and most importantly what percent of the Namibian vote it could expect to receive in an election, will be addressed.

1. AKTUR

The right wing reactionary group in Namibia consists mainly of AKTUR. It advocates keeping the "white areas" of Namibia intact. In other words keeping roughly 50 percent of the country in the possession of 10 percent of the population. It rejects elections on the basis of one man one vote and prefers ethnic elections within homelands. AKTUR detests the new status quo and strongly advocates a return to a status quo ante. It presently has enough support to capture roughly five percent of the vote in any future election in which all the major groups participate. /Ref. 29, p. 257.

AKTUR participated in South Africa's December 1978 elections and won enough votes to send six of its members to the constituent assembly (which is composed of 50 members). The majority of the groups' support obviously comes from the white segment of the population. /Ref. 30/. It is quite possible South Africa conducted the elections to appease AKTUR and other right wing whites who had insisted on a chance to retain power via South African supervised voting. Yet South Africa knew quite well that AKTUR had little chance of defeating the Pretoria backed DTA. /Ref. 17/.

Generally speaking AKTUR represents the structure of apartheid and indeed "colonialism" that South Africa has come to represent. It represents the "system" that in the end even some South Africans realize, must change. There is to be no turning back of the clock now. The Namibian people have come too far to be deprived of the equality and independence they

so richly deserve and which groups like AKTUR seem bent on denying them.

2. DTA

The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) was formed on 5 November 1977 with the banding together of various ethnic oriented parties. The leader of the multiracial group is a white rancher, Dirk Mudge. He strongly vocalizes the groups objections to radical changes in the social, economic, and political structure of Namibia. Thus DTA represents the conservative elements in Namibia's political arena. It is attacked by its opponents for cleverly concealing the apartheid segments of its programs and for proposing a political and administrative system that is not acceptable to most blacks. Nevertheless if all the major political groups were to participate in an election today the DTA could expect as much as 30 percent of the vote. [Ref. 29, p. 25].

It is no secret that the DTA is heavily backed by Pretoria. It quickly agreed to participate in South Africa's December elections and won 41 out of the 50 seats in the constituent assembly by carrying 82 percent of the vote. [Ref. 31, p. 2]. It was reported that prior to the elections "black" DTA members received permits to carry arms and that potential voters were threatened with loss of pensions, hospital care, jobs and possessions if they did not take DTA voter cards. [Ref. 32, p. 2]. See Figure 8 for sample DTA voter card. There is no doubt that South Africa tried to "force out" the vote with tactics like these in order to help convince the

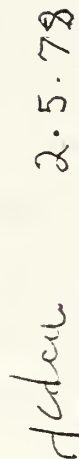


Figure 8. DTA Voter Card

world that the election was the "will of the people of Namibia." The DTA is not necessarily a puppet of South Africa's but it is indeed their choice for the future government of the territory.

SWAPO had feared that if DTA won the December 1978 elections that it would make impossible demands upon the U.N. concerning future elections. These demands if refused would then lead to the DTA setting up its own government on the basis of its December victory. Thus in December, when DTA did announce that it wanted U.N. support for SWAPO retracted, Angola and Zambia bases for SWAPO closed, and a neutral U.N. supervisory force, it appeared SWAPO's fears were indeed justified! [Ref. 17].

The parties concerned are still negotiating for a UN "supervised and controlled" election for sometime in the near future. In the coming months the DTA will be attempting to consolidate its power by gaining the support of all the groups it defeated in the December elections. However, if it does not come to terms with the U.N. it will only intensify the ethnic and political divisions in a territory that is already torn by South African policies of apartheid and colonialism.

3. NNF

The liberal group in Namibia consists primarily of the Namibian National Front (NNF). It was formed through the merging of various multiracial political groupings and rejects the DTA's "heavy emphasis on "ethnicity and race." It recently announced its affiliation with the SWAPO-Democrats. The

leader of SWAPO(D) is Andreas Shipanga the former SWAPO member who was recently released from a Tanzanian jail. He had been placed there on orders from SWAPO President, Sam Nujoma, after breaking with the party leadership. SWAPO(D) now seeks power through reconciliation of tribal and ethnic groups. However, Shipanga hinders both the NNF and SWAPO(D) due to the "South African Stooge" label that has been attached to him. /Ref. 33, p. 237.

The NNF deplores the favoring of any social political or economic group. Due to its liberalism it is unable to gain the support from Namibia's white segment or from Pretoria. It showed its lack of South African connections when it boycotted the December 1978 elections. This group shows great promise for the future. It could expect to garner anywhere between 20-30 percent of the vote in an election involving all parties. /Ref. 29, p. 2717. The NNF is capable of providing the "quick changes" needed in Namibia but unfortunately lacks the support of both whites and blacks who either feel the changes will come too fast (DTA) or not fast enough (SWAPO).

4. SWAPO

Since its formation on 19 April 1960 the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) has claimed to represent the "Namibian people." It is a social revolutionary group that violently protests Namibia's present social, economic and political organization as an "exploitation of the Black mass by a privileged white group." /Ref. 5, p. 277. SWAPO has made a clear commitment to socialism and also clearly rejects the

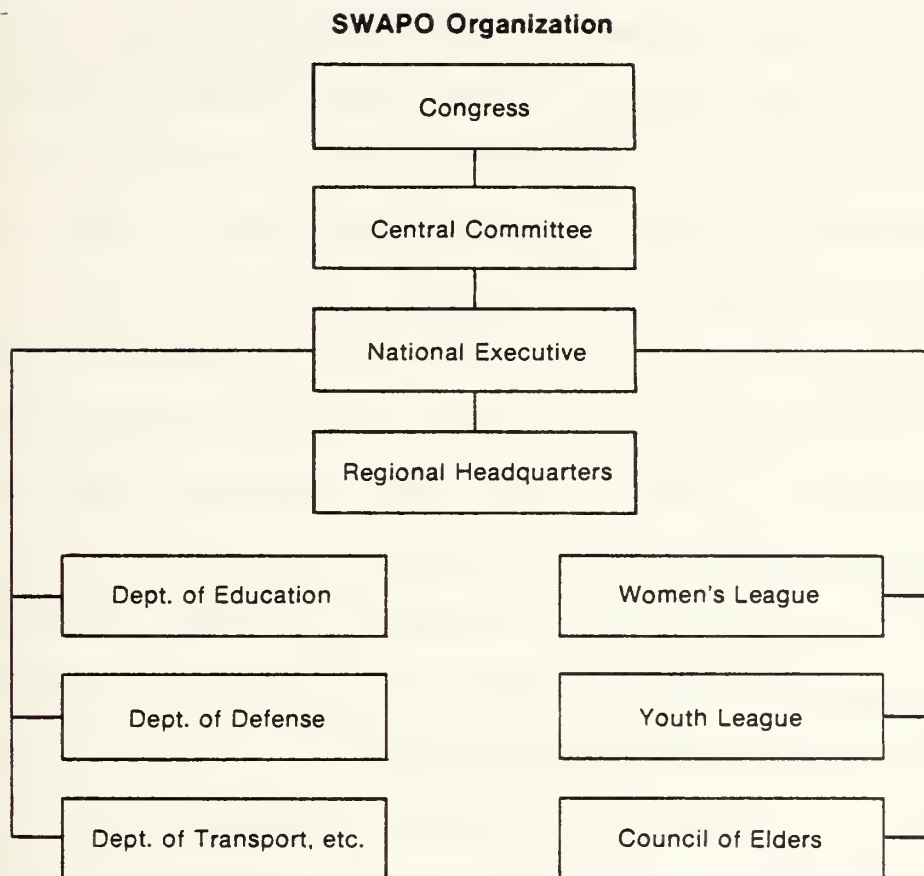
African capitalist strategies employed by states such as Kenya. Its plans include bringing all major means of production under the control of the "people of Namibia." The subsequent loss of white skilled labor caused by a SWAPO takeover does not bother the leadership. As much as a 5 year period of economic ruin is anticipated and in fact understood as the price due for freedom. /Ref. 67.

SWAPO is not a single organization. It is composed of the "external wing" that carries on the war of liberation and the "internal wing" which remains in Namibia in order to organize and conduct meetings. SWAPO (external) led by Sam Nujoma is noted for the recognition (in the U.N. and O.A.U.) it brings to the SWAPO cause. Meanwhile SWAPO (internal) attempts to campaign for its cause within Namibia in the face of growing South African repression. In April of 1978 a SWAPO (internal) leader, Lucia Hamatenya, explained her plight: "At the moment in Namibia it would be suicide to organize SWAPO meetings or distribute openly our material." /Ref. 32, p. 27.

In order to bring its cause home to the people, SWAPO organized the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN). The army operates primarily from bases in Zambia and Angola. It is supported by arms from the O.A.U. and receives aid from Soviet, GDR, Cuban and Angolan advisors. The long and rugged Angola border is difficult for South African troops to guard. PLAN has been successful in infiltrating the border and two areas in Ovamboland are considered semi-liberated because SWAPO guerrillas can move there quite freely without the South African

Army being able to control them. [Ref. 32, p. 47]. It is in the Ovamboland and East Caprivi regions that SWAPO carried out most of its operations. Most of their activities consist of mine-laying, kidnapping, small ambushes, and assassinations, primarily against non-whites. In 1977 SWAPO guerrillas engaged in Namibia probably never reached 400 while its total strength abroad is estimated at roughly 4,000 men. There is hardly anything when compared to the 10 to 20 thousand troops that South Africa has had in Namibia. The guerrillas face other difficulties as well. Operating from Angola they lack a good solid supply line and they have no secure bases in Namibia. They also must operate on foot in relatively open country while South Africa utilizes the air (with helicopters) to track them down. Overall it is a difficult assignment that can only be carried out by those with a tremendous resolve. [Ref. 25, p. 307].

The SWAPO organization (see Figure 9) is recognized by the U.N. and O.A.U. as the legitimate representative of the Namibian people. It also has the support of both organizations in its "armed struggle" for liberation. SWAPO has had its internal problems as recently as 1977, when President Nujoma ordered Andreas Shipanga arrested by Zambian authorities for his protesting of the way the war of liberation was being fought. Shipanga has since been released and has formed SWAPO DEMOCRATS, a new political group opposed to Nujoma's organization. However, SWAPO and Nujoma have both weathered the crisis and enjoy widespread international support. SWAPO's internal strength is also increasing such that if an election were held



Source: Southwest Africa Namibia: American African Affairs Association 1978.

Figure 9. SWAPO Organization

today it could win up to 40 or 50 percent of the vote.

The Soviet success in Angola placed them in a strong position to make new offers of assistance to SWAPO leaders. These leaders had in the past successfully preserved a carefully non-aligned position between East and West as well as between Moscow and Peking. They now felt themselves under heavy pressures from the Russians and Cubans to accept their military support and give up the Chinese military instructors in their Tanzanian camp. There were some signs of a rift between SWAPO leaders willing to accept the Moscow offer and the traditionally nonaligned leadership in late 1975 thus a representative was sent to the 25th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party to explain the SWAPO position. [Ref. 34, p. B556]. The leadership apparently weathered the storm and remains non-aligned at this time. However, SWAPO does remain in tune with the "United Front" policy of the Soviets. "The pro-Soviet African Communist commented: SWAPO is faced with a strategic problem similar to that facing the Zimbabwean liberation movement: to resist the ideological and financial pressure from the West while exploiting to the full the Western powers' desire to accommodate to some degree, and for their own reactionary motives, the force for change in southern Africa. And both these tasks have to be fulfilled while at the same time advancing the armed struggle, the only path to liberation." [Ref. 25, p. 30]. In keeping with this philosophy SWAPO has remained active in the negotiating process with the West while at the same time fighting its war in Namibia.

In SWAPO's eyes the key to the Western countries real motives will be seen if they enforce sanctions against South Africa. /Ref. 6/. If South Africa cannot be convinced to allow the U.N. to supervise and control elections in Namibia then SWAPO will fight on. They have increased their radio broadcasts from Angola and have been quite effective in doing so. /Ref. 32, p. 4/. SWAPO has also received the strong support of the church in Namibia. The World Council of Churches has been a heavy contributor to the SWAPO cause and will most likely continue to be. /Ref. 35/. The U.N., O.A.U., USSR, Cuba and the Front Line States are all equally committed to seeing SWAPO represent the Namibian people. Thus if items such as Walvis Bay and South African troop levels cannot be ironed out with either DTA or South Africa the liberation will go on. Time appears to be on SWAPO's side. The most alarming possibility is that should SWAPO suspend fighting and then lose a U.N. supervised election, it might still "continue the struggle!" /Ref. 36, p. 46/.

The political groups of Namibia are key actors in Namibia's transition process. One of them will probably some day be the government of Namibia. There is only one that most assuredly will not get the nod (due to its resistance to any change at all) and that is AKTUR. The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) due to the elections conducted last December is forever tainted as a South African puppet government. DTA seems destined to fall victim to the winds of change. It is unfortunate that the country will probably overlook the Namibian National Front (NNF) which advocates sweeping changes but not ones that would take place overnight. The NNF would take care

to preserve the country's economic base and thus change would come only gradually. Yet the black people of Namibia are crying out for "great change" and it is SWAPO alone that has been fighting and dying for this since 1966. Not DTA, Not AKTUR, Not NNF! There is no easy solution when the 90 percent who have been living under the domination of the 10 percent decide they have had enough! The result is inevitable, the only question is, can it be done peacefully?

Although there are well over 20 political parties active in Namibia, AKTUR, DTA, NNF, and SWAPO represent the four most dominant factions struggling for support. In SWAPO the confrontation between the oppressed blacks and their colonial white rulers is the basic tenet of their struggle. In both DTA and NNF there are more moderate forces at work who are both white and black and in part are made up of the multiracial middle class sector. AKTUR represents that sector that desires the utmost cooperation with South Africa and resists change vehemently. The inability of these political groupings to bring the Namibian people together only serves to aggravate the ethnic differences that exist in this emerging nation. Clashes between various ethnic groups over political differences are destined to intensify as time goes on. The decision by South Africa to conduct its own elections only served to ignite the political and ethnic differences present in the territory. The victory last December by the DTA means more bloodshed for all Namibians as SWAPO steps up its fighting. It also necessitates more military support from the Soviet

Union in order to continue the armed struggle. It is indeed a vicious circle linking internal unrest with possible great power intervention. Namibians both white and black must each go half way if they are to solve their problems themselves. If not, it will mean years of suffering and pain for all. Perhaps newly elected DTA leader, Dirk Mudge, realized the importance of this when he stated: "If we can't come to an understanding with them (the non-whites) we might as well cancel the election and begin to oil our guns. You can't fight a war without gas and ammunition, and we don't have those things. I have joined hands with them in mutual trust. I will walk the road to the end with them." /Ref. 37, p. 357/ It is a question on the minds of many Namibians as to just how bloody that road will be.

D. ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS

Namibia is a rich land with a wealth of untapped natural resources. The uncertainty concerning its transition process has had adverse effects on its economy due to investors reluctance to make commitments until some type of solution is reached. Despite this reluctance Namibians are optimistic about their eventual role in the international market. Its chief industries are mining, fishing, husbandry, and agriculture.

Namibia's mining industry ranks 17th out of the world's 20 major mining countries. It possesses untold amounts of diamonds, uranium, copper, lead, zinc, manganese, tin, iron tungsten, silver, cadmium, vanadium, lithium sulphur, and salt. The mining industry alone accounted for 59 percent of Namibia's total

exports in 1970. The data regarding Namibia's mineral wealth is particularly impressive. The Oranjemund mines are the world's richest gem diamond source. Diamonds account for 66 percent of the country's total mineral exports and production runs at over 1.6 million carats per year. The Rossing open pit uranium mine was opened for development in 1976 and is scheduled for production of 1,000 tons of uranium oxide per year. The Rossing facility is the world's largest and has over 100,000 tons in reserve. Namibia also ranks as the world's second largest producer of Vanadium and Lithium. The territory was Africa's largest producer of refined lead (producing 62,700 metric tons in 1972) and the continent's second largest producer of Cadmium (producing 159,000 metric tons in 1972). Finally Namibia was the third largest producer of zinc in Africa (with an output of 34,800 metric tons in 1973). These are indeed impressive figures that make investors anxious for a peaceful transition to independence. [Ref. 38, p. 197]. (See Figure 10 for economic map of Namibia).

The fishing industry in Namibia accounted for 25 percent of the territory's total exports in 1970. The offshore Benguela Current is the primary fishing ground. Over 600,000 tons of fish, primarily pilchards are caught each year and processed in Walvis Bay. Another 3,000 tons of rock lobster are also caught each year and processed at Luderitz. The choice areas have been heavily overfished by Soviet, Cuban, and Bulgarian vessels in recent years and has impacted on South Africa's decision not to extend the territorial waters to 320 KM. These nations are

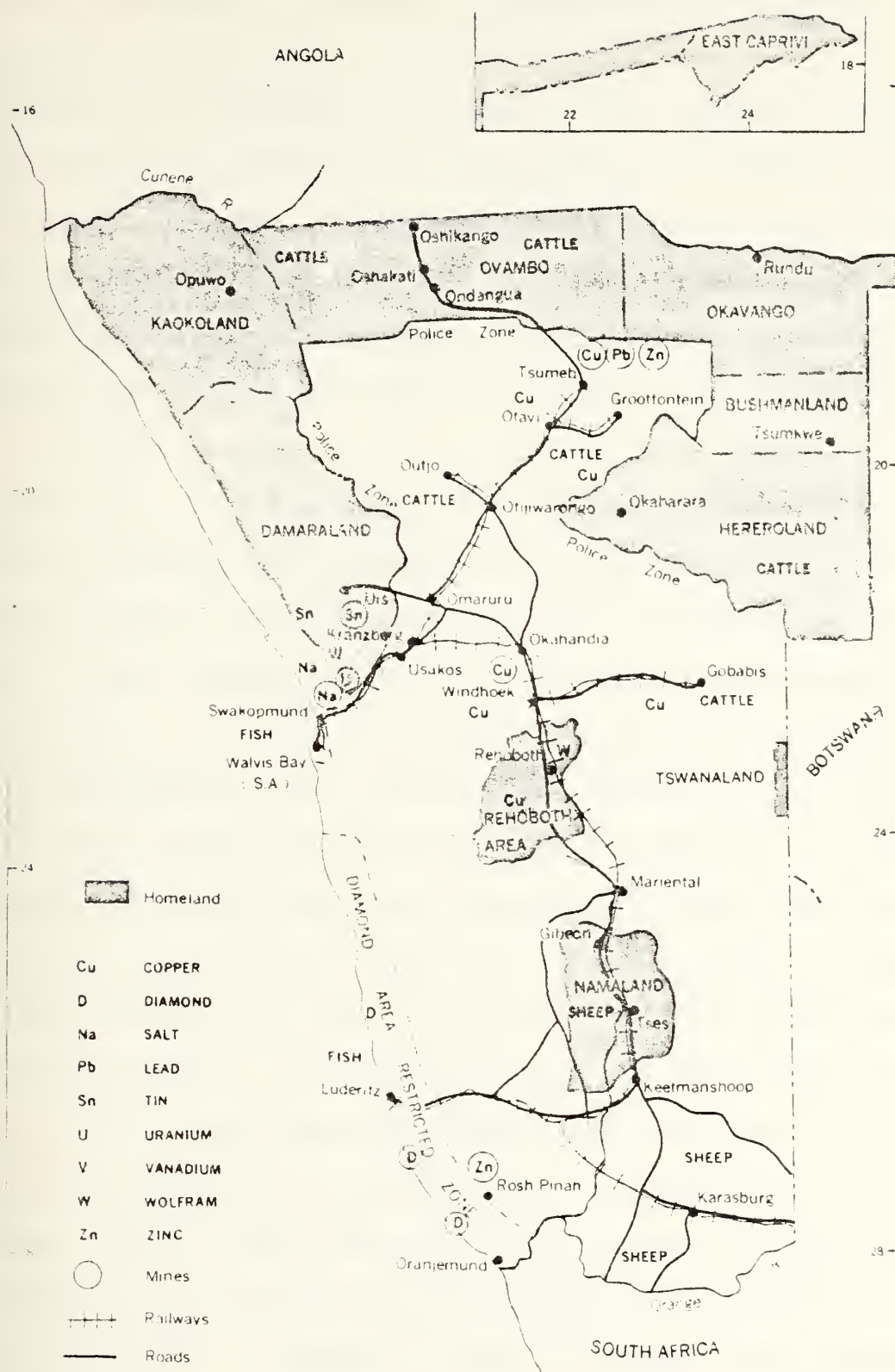


Figure 10. Economic Map of Namibia

anxious to negotiate different fishing agreements with a new Namibian government.

Husbandry has emerged as Namibia's third largest industry behind mining and fishing. It accounted for 16 percent of the total exports in 1970. Namibia exported 3.9 million Karakul pelts (persian lamb) in 1972 and is presently the world's largest exporter of this product. The industry is in far better shape than the fourth and final sector that will be addressed, that of agriculture.

Since most whites are involved in the management of the various industries the task of tilling the unresponsive soil is primarily done by the blacks. There are six basic features of Namibia's agricultural industry. First, its vulnerability to climatic factors and stock disease. Second, its dependence on cattle and Karakul sheep. Third, the inability of the territory's meat and dairy products to compete regularly on the international markets and the consequent reliance upon markets in South Africa. Fourth, the inability to supply any significant percentage of the grain, vegetable and fruit requirements of the inhabitants; necessitating large purchases from South Africa. Fifth, the high standards of farm management required to combat a harsh and arid environment and difficult marketing problems. Sixth, the limitations which natural conditions, especially in the southern sector, impose upon agricultural growth. [Ref. 39]. Farming is thus a difficult and arduous task. There is a great amount of frustration on the part of the blacks toward their role in the Namibian economy. SWAPO

claims that 75 percent of Namibia's choice area, containing the best farming and mineral lands are controlled by the whites who make up only 12 percent of the population. Thus the redistribution of land will be one of their first tasks should they attain power. [Ref. 6].

The economic wealth of Namibia cannot help but play a role in the lands transition to independence. The United States has many transnationals who have a great interest in the economic policies that the new government there will incorporate. See Figure 11 for a listing of U.S. transnationals operating in Namibia. [Ref. 40, p. 21]. They will be watching the proceedings quite closely as will U.S. policymakers. For Southern Africa contains enough riches so that if the Soviets should ever establish control over it they would manage 90 percent of the world's platinum production; 80 percent of its gold cobalt and chrome; 75 percent of its manganese and 70 percent of its diamonds. [Ref. 41]. The economic potential of the area is one that takes on additional significance in the wake of Soviet expansionism into Angola.

The geographic, ethnic and political, and economic aspects of Namibia are important factors in the territory's struggle toward independence. These internal factors play an important role in influencing the transition process yet they are each perceived in a different way, depending on the goals of the external actors. The following section will describe the roles these "external actors" might play in Namibia's transition process.

U.S. Transnationals in Namibia

Mining - Base Metals and Diamonds

American Metal Climax Inc. (AMAX), Newmont Mining Corporation Ltd., Nord Resources Corporation Ltd., Tsumeb Corporation Ltd. (TCL), Zapata Norness Inc.

Prospecting - Base Metals

Bethlehem Steel Corporation Ltd., Continental Ore Corporation Ltd., Nord Resources Corporation Ltd., Tsumeb Corporation Ltd., United States Steel Ltd., Zapata Norness Inc.

Oil Prospecting and Marketing

Continental Overseas Oil Company, Betty Oil Company, Standard Oil of California, Texaco Oil Company.

(These companies were reported to have withdrawn from prospecting for off-shore oil in Namibia last year).

Construction and Manufacturing

Arthur G. McKee of San Francisco, Interspace Inc.

Companies with offices in Namibia:

Burroughs Machines Ltd., Canada Dry, Firestone, General Tire and Rubber, National Cash Register, Royal Crown Cola, Singer.

Financial

Chase Manhattan/First National City Bank.

Source: African Report, November/December 1977.

Figure 11. U.S. Transnationals Operating in Namibia

III. NAMIBIA : THE EXTERNAL FACTORS

A. THE GREAT POWERS

The inability to obtain a peaceful solution to Namibia, through U.N. negotiation opens up the conflict to external pressures from the "Great Powers." As in Angola this means that the USSR, PRC, and U.S. will play a much greater role in the final solution. This is a sobering thought considering the outcome of the Angolan revolution.

The lack of any U.N. control in Angola left the door open for the Soviets to "tilt the scales" there. Showing utter disregard for the OAU's position the Soviets recognized the MPLA as Angola's government and stepped up their arms shipments in support of the MPLA cause. They even tried to "bully" the O.A.U. chairman, General Idi Amin, into breaking with the O.A.U. (by following the Soviet lead in recognizing the MPLA). [Ref. 42, p. 7517]. Overall it was an impressive showing of force in a time of international crisis.

China had given support to both the UNITA and FNLA liberation movements that were struggling for control in Angola. It was in fact the "Chinese" factor that gave great impetus to the Soviet's desire to back MPLA more heavily than ever. As hostilities grew the Chinese found, as the Soviets had in the 1960 Congo crisis, that they could not handle the logistics involved in a major support operation. There was also the fact that the Chinese differed from the Soviets in their outlook on liberation movements. Based on their own Chinese revolution

they felt that a liberation movement should come to power essentially by its own means and thus they would never give the heavy assistance which the Soviet Union had provided. /Ref. 43, p. 317.

Meanwhile the U.S. could not have been in worse shape in Angola. Taken by surprise by the changing events, such as the Portuguese coup, and Soviet/Cuban buildups, the U.S. role was limited to covert CIA support of FNLA. Finally in the confusion of the South African invasion of Angola the U.S. Congress ended the embarrassing experience by cutting off further funding of the U.S. initiatives in the war torn country. The U.S. policy concerning Angola was a true lesson in being unprepared for fast changing events on the continent of Africa. The Angolan revolution thus ended round one of the superpower involvement in Southern Africa's struggle for majority rule. The United States simply did not know how to play the game much less even know the rules. The Chinese demonstrated that they were not interested in raising the ante and left doubts as to whether they had the capability to do so. Meanwhile the Soviets, through their firmness and determination, succeeded in "tilting the scales" in favor of the MPLA as the bloody revolution in Angola came to a close.

The implications for Namibia are indeed obvious. As negotiations deteriorate the opportunity for great power involvement grows greater. The situation in Namibia presents the Soviets with some substantial benefits should they be able to gain influence by helping a faction attain power there. Their

long history of support for SWAPO puts them in a position to do just that. The benefits derived from backing SWAPO to power include: (1) allows the Soviets access to Namibia's vast resources, (2) increases the Soviet image as an aide to liberation movements, (3) demonstrates the USSR's capability to act as a superpower, (4) retards both Chinese and U.S. influence in southern Africa, (5) provides strategic access to the Cape oil routes, and (6) increases the pressure on the Republic of South Africa. There are, of course, costs which the Soviets must consider equally as much before increasing their involvement in Namibia. Some of these factors include: (1) the financial outlay required to step up their involvement, (2) the impact on their own military posture caused by the transfer of armaments, (3) the impact on detente with the U.S., (4) the international repercussions of their actions (with emphasis on the industrial democracies, the U.N., the O.A.U., and the PRC), (5) the embarrassment caused should they back the losing side and (6) the possible involvement and loss of Soviet troops, should a proxy force like the Cubans or East Germans not be available or strong enough to ensure victory over the RSA. When the above factors are considered along with the successful Soviet venture in Angola there is reason for the West to be alarmed. The Soviet future role in Namibia should not be taken lightly.

Fortunately U.S. policy has changed since the Angolan revolution. The American policy toward southern Africa was based on the assumption that black nationalists even with "external power aid" could not overthrow white governments.

This was of course the main premise of NSSM 39 of 1969 /Ref. 44, p. 2397. Angola changed the U.S. thinking quite radically.

America now realized that unless it played an active role in helping settle the problems of southern Africa the Soviets would have an open field. External power assistance could and would make a difference! U.S. interests in finding a peaceful solution to the Namibian conflict are similar to those that the USSR seeks to accomplish by backing SWAPO. The U.S. desires:

(1) to maintain its economic stability in the area due to the large amount of key minerals that must not be allowed to fall under Soviet control.

(2) to demonstrate it has not weakened in the face of Soviet expansion.

(3) to demonstrate it can orchestrate a peaceful settlement and thus act as a great power in Africa.

(4) to increase its image as the leader of the "free" world.

(5) to ensure that the strategic Cape oil route is not endangered.

(6) to assist South Africa in gradually changing its internal policy of apartheid while at the same time pressuring it to grant Namibia independence through a U.N. supervised and controlled election.

The U.S. policymakers' problem is thus more complex than his Soviet counterpart. South Africa is an ally not a target for eventual conquest. Thus Namibia has become a case where the U.S. wishes to aid in the liberation of the country without

seriously damaging a very obstinate ally in the form of South Africa. There are indeed costs that the U.S. must face up to as it pursues its objectives in Namibia. First, the U.S. runs the risk of being accused of desiring to attain economic domination of Namibia through its moderate stand on the subject of liberation. The idea that capitalism is "exploitation of man by man" is uppermost on the mind of Africans when the U.S. is involved on that continent. /Ref. 6/. Second, a failure of the U.S. to reach a peaceful solution would enforce the feeling throughout the world that America is no longer a great power. Third, failure in Namibia will most assuredly be reflected as another victory for the communist movement spearheaded by the Soviet Union. Fourth, and perhaps the most serious cost involved in the U.S. taking the lead to find a peaceful settlement in Namibia, is that failure will lead to a feeling of helplessness on the part of our allies and all peace loving people. It would place tremendous stress on the Republic of South Africa as they wonder what the U.S. will do when it is their turn to be "liberated."

The PRC's military capability to aid liberation groups has not increased since Angola. Their philosophy concerning how much assistance to give a group has not been altered either. However, the recent establishment of relations between the U.S. and the PRC puts a new light on the roles of the great powers in Africa. China is committed to stop Soviet expansionism. Perhaps the U.S. and PRC can orchestrate their efforts in such a manner as to deter the Soviets in Namibia. There will indeed

be hesitation since the PRC was disappointed in the lack of action on the part of the U.S. in the face of Soviet moves in Angola in late 1975. This does not rule out however a strong diplomatic effort on the part of the PRC to reach a peaceful accord over Namibia. They realize that as hostilities build it will be the Soviets that SWAPO turns to for the large support that the Chinese are unable to handle. In the meantime the PRC gives minor support to SWAPO as it carefully observes the U.S. led initiative for a peaceful transition.

The elected winners of South Africa's election, the DTA, are leaders with no international recognition. This is a dangerous situation that invites great power involvement. The U.S. task is to see to it that a peaceful agreement is reached in order to prevent possibly yet another Angola. Fortunately for the past two years U.S. negotiators have been actively pursuing this policy. If the negotiations do not prove fruitful the rules of the game in Namibia could change quite quickly to those that the Soviets have proven they know quite well. The following sections will examine the roles of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and the United States in the Namibian conflict.

1. Soviet Union

Soviet support of national liberation movements in Africa is not a recent development. Early in 1966 during a report to the 23rd Congress, Secretary General L. I. Brezhnev stated: "In Angola and Mozambique and in Portuguese Guinea patriots are heroically fighting the foreign enslavers and

and invaders. Our Party and the entire Soviet people actively support this struggle; we are giving effective all-round assistance to peoples fighting against foreign invaders for freedom and independence and shall continue to do so. We are firmly convinced that the day is not far distant when the last remnants of colonialism will be destroyed and the people will raise the banner of national freedom in the liberated territories." /Ref. 45, p. 97/. Recent events in Angola and Mozambique have demonstrated the foresight of Brezhnev's statement. The Soviets did indeed play a major role in the liberation of those countries!

It is significant that at roughly the same time that Brezhnev was stating his support of liberation movements, SWAPO was pledging itself to a "war of liberation" against South Africa. The decision by SWAPO leaders to engage in "armed conflict" was actively supported by the Soviets, who had maintained liaisons with the group since its formation in April of 1960. Military supplies for SWAPO have been channeled through the O.A.U. Liberation Committee in Dar Es-Salaam since the late 1960's. These shipments were at times subject to being diverted to other Soviet supported groups that had a greater need. The quick changing events in Angola led to an excellent example of this policy. In Dar Es-Salaam, Tanzania "the Soviet ship Valery Mezhlank laden with 785 tons of arms for SWAPO, reportedly diverted them to MPLA, an act which symbolized the interdependence of Soviet strategic objectives." /Ref. 24, p. 96/.

Angola's liberation placed SWAPO's struggle for independence one notch higher on the list of Soviet priorities. It is not farfetched to link the events in Angola to those in Namibia. Even Soviet African specialist, V. Sidenko, is mindful of the impact of successful Soviet backed operations when he states: "The triumph of the patriotic forces in Angola would give a new and powerful impulse to the liberation struggle in the last strongholds of racism, the Republic of South Africa and Namibia. [Ref. 46, p. 20-21]. The events in Angola most certainly did provide SWAPO with some much needed hope. Their movement now seems much higher on the Soviet priority list. This was evidenced by the cordial reception in July 1978 of Mr. Sam Nujoma, SWAPO president, by both Mr. B. Ponomarev, (candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo/Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee) and Mr. R. Ulyanovskiy (deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee). These highly influential CPSU representatives reaffirmed the Soviets solidarity with the national patriotic forces of Namibia. [Ref. 47, p. 42]. The meeting was held in the wake of reports that the Soviets were preparing a large offensive against South African forces in Namibia from bases in Angola. Five Soviet army generals reportedly assumed supreme command over the Cuban and Angolan military forces. Under the command of Soviet General Chakhanovich were Generals Karpov and Shurupov as well as Major General Sredin and Brigadier Gubin. Supplies for the operation were supposedly being flown into Angola via two routes: "One, via Baghdad, Aden, Addis Ababa, and Entebbe to "Vila Henrique

de Carvalho" while the other route went via the former U.S. Wheelus Field airbase in Libya to "Silva Porto." /Ref. 48, p. J27. It is very difficult to ascertain how much of the Soviet action in Angola is related to defending MPLA from UNITA and how much is SWAPO related. However, it is safe to say that the Soviets have reorganized and resupplied its liberation forces both (MPLA and SWAPO) quite heavily in the past year. This increase in Soviet involvement is not good news for those who desire a peaceful settlement in Namibia.

The trip to Africa in April 1977 of then Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny and Cuban President, Fidel Castro, included separate meetings with Sam Nujoma of SWAPO. /Ref. 49, p. 117. The result of these meetings was an increase in SWAPO incursions into Namibia (equipped with Soviet arms) during the following months. This led to the eventual attack by South African troops on the SWAPO base in Cassinga, Angola (nicknamed "Moscow"). /Ref. 50, p. A197. The Soviets appear committed to supplying SWAPO with arms despite losses such as those experienced at Cassinga. Are they thus hoping to one day to capitalize on their investments of Soviet weaponry? Soviet Ambassador to Ghana, Yurig Bernow, explains, "The Soviet Union does not look for advantages, does not hunt for concessions, or seek political domination or military bases. In fact, we act as we are bid by our revolutionary conscience." /Ref. 51, p. 7-87. Such unselfish support is highly unlikely but nevertheless is still the Soviet "partyline." The adverse affects on international stability of Soviet arms shipments can be seen quite

clearly in Angola. In 1975, the Alvor accord was workable only as long as none of its parties were strong enough to exclude the others from a future government. The promise of large shipments of Soviet arms to MPLA gave it little incentive to accept a partnership. [Ref. 43, p. 37]. Hopefully, Soviet aid to SWAPO will not force it into a similar frame of mind. If it does all hopes for a peaceful settlement will be dashed and the possibility of great power involvement would grow exponentially.

It is true that the Soviets do not view their actions in Africa as part of their relationship with the U.S. In a speech at the Soviet Communist Party Congress in Moscow on February 24, 1976, Secretary General Brezhnev stated: "Detente does not in the slightest abolish or alter the laws of the class struggle. No one should expect that because of detente communists will reconcile themselves with capitalistic exploitation or that monopolists become followers of the revolution. We make no secret of the fact we see detente as the way to create more favorable conditions for peaceful socialist and Communist construction. This only confirms that socialism and peace are indissoluble." [Ref. 52, p. 147]. The attitude of the Soviets toward detente is thus quite different than those of U.S. policymakers. Whereas the Americans see detente as a broad spectrum of issues in which the great powers can communicate, the Soviet's leadership sees it as a dialogue on certain issues such as "trade" or "SALT." Thus a policy of "selective detente" emerges from the Kremlin. [Ref. 537]. In dealing with this

policy the U.S. is faced with a situation in Namibia that places them in conflict with Soviet objectives. Although the Soviet "party-line" disclaims any other goals there are indeed benefits the Soviets seek to attain by backing SWAPO to power. First, it allows them access to Namibia's raw materials. Most Americans do not realize that recent Soviet activities in Zaire are directly responsible for a critical shortage in the West of the strategic metal cobalt. Shortly before the attack on Kolwezi the Soviets (with the East Germans and Poles) made unusually large purchases of cobalt on the world market. [Ref. 54]. Their desire to manipulate Namibia's great wealth is equally tempting. Second, Namibia provides an opportunity for the Soviets to increase their image as an aide to liberation movements. Soviet leaders have boasted to liberation groups that, "The Soviet Union does not leave friends in a difficult hour." [Ref. 55, p. H11]. That hour is fast approaching in Namibia and Soviet prestige (due to their support of SWAPO) will be on the line. Third, Namibia provides the Soviets with the opportunity to act as a superpower. This is something the Soviets failed to demonstrate in the early 1960's (i.e., the Congo Crisis of 1960 and Cuban Crisis of 1962). The desire to do so now is quite evident. Note the words of Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko who declared: "As a major world power with extensively developed international contacts, the Soviet Union cannot regard passively events which though territorially remote, nevertheless have a bearing on our security and the security of our friends." [Ref. 56]. Fourth, the USSR desires to retard both Chinese and U.S. influence in southern

Africa. The Soviets have made it quite clear that they consider both the Chinese and U.S. activities in Africa to be motivated by selfish interests. Their willingness to commit themselves fully in Angola resulted largely from a strong desire to counter a significant Chinese influence in East Africa [Ref. 42, p. 751]. There is also the strong Soviet desire to keep the U.S. out of the role of "peacekeeper of Africa." Fifth, Namibia provides the Soviets strategic access to the Cape oil routes. This access is provided at a much cheaper price to Soviet military planners if they possess a base in Namibia. The importance of this cost factor was expressed by one U.S. defense analyst as follows: "... the availability of a base on the west coast of Africa would be a great convenience to the Soviet Navy. It is much easier, more efficient and cheaper to support a fleet of submarines from a nearby fixed base with ample stocks, machine shops and dry dock facilities than from a distant homeland base or from surface submarine tenders. The lower cost is an important feature in peacetime (even for the Russians) while the efficiency in the form of speed of turnaround in rearming, re-provisioning and repairing is an important feature in wartime. Aircraft would also be based there to provide reconnaissance for the fleet and communications problems would be eased." [Ref. 24, p. 97]. The Soviets could also utilize the area off the Namibian coast as a SSBN patrol zone. The region is known for its poor acoustic conditions and thus cannot be overlooked as a "strategic" resource. Sixth, as mentioned earlier Namibia can be used as a final springboard to the ultimate prize:

South Africa. Just as Angola serves as a base for SWAPO guerrillas so might Namibia one day protect South African liberators. The possibility of such a happening is one reason South Africa is being so cautious about Namibia's transition process.

The Soviets have three key tools which they use in order to achieve their aforementioned goals in Namibia. Their main source of influence is caused by their role as "arms supplier." Secondly, they attempt to capitalize on the hostility between the liberation groups and the U.S. caused by the United States past association with the status quo and its "long term" peaceful solutions. Finally, the Soviets are aided by their long and consistent association with certain Marxist or Communist movements such as the African National Congress (ANC). /Ref. 44, p. 247. These are all important aids which the Soviets seek to utilize as efficiently as possible. There are however problems that even the Soviets must contend with. As African scholar Dennis Austin wrote concerning the impact of Soviet arms support, "the ingratitude of successful guerrilla leaders when they become governments can quite easily surpass the familiar ingratitude of man to man." /Ref. 57, p. 877. This is not always the case but yet remains a possibility that the Soviets cannot disregard when they invest millions of dollars in a given liberation movement. Surprisingly, the Soviets also have the problem of "racism." Africans perceive a racist strain when dealing with Russians and liken it to that of "Western supremacists." /Ref. 51, p. 107. Thus the Soviets at times find themselves no better off than other non-Africans.

All things considered what is the Soviet role in Africa? There are presently two popular schools of thought regarding this matter. The first labels Soviet policy one of "opportunism." This denotes a lack of Soviet planning and seems to indicate that they simply "jump into the fire whenever they feel the time is right." Still others label Soviet policy "A Grand Design for Africa." This leaps to the other side of the spectrum and postulates that the Soviets have a master plan all laid out for the takeover of African countries. Both of these schools miss the mark in evaluating Soviet policy. Soviet actions in Africa are based primarily on a rational decision making process in which the costs and benefits of an involvement are analyzed for a particular country at a specified time. This is neither opportunism or a "Grand Design." It must be remembered that the costs and benefits change very quickly and that factors such as Cuba's desire to become involved in a given area can swing a Soviet decision one way or another. This ability of Cuba to affect Soviet decisionmaking will be addressed later.

Thus in Namibia the Soviets must weigh the possible benefits against the perceived costs. These costs include: (1) the financial outlay required to step up their involvement, (2) the impact on their own military posture caused by the transfer of armaments, (3) the impact on relations with the U.S., (4) the international repercussions of their actions, (5) the embarrassment caused should they back the losing side, and (6) the possible involvement and loss of Soviet troops

should a proxy force like the Cubans or East Germans not be available. There are those who argue that presently the South African presence in Namibia is too great to allow the Soviets into the territory. /Ref. 58/. This is in fact a true statement at the present time. However, as international pressures work on South Africa and its troops become disgruntled over fighting a "prolonged" guerrilla war, the prospect of South African withdrawal increases. It is then quite probable that the Soviet's "costs" will become much less than their "benefits." When will that day come? In the words of General Secretary Brezhnev, "We are firmly convinced that the day is not that far distant." /Ref. 45, p. 9/.

2. People's Republic of China

"Africa is ripe for revolution," with these words Chou-En-lai described his view of Africa in 1964. The scramble for Chinese influence in Africa's liberation movements was aided in 1968 due to the Soviet's invasion of Czechoslovakia. The U.S. was not even in the game at this time due to its pre-occupation with Vietnam and its policy of defending the status-quo on the African continent. The Soviet invasion helped Chinese leaders in trying to convince African nationalists that the Soviet Union was just another imperialist power. With this principle in mind China set out upon a course of convincing nations that it was the leader and champion of the Third World. Particular emphasis was placed on the economic sphere. In the U.N. and in the other international forums, China articulated the frustrations of the poorer countries against the

inequalities of the present world economic systems. /Ref. 59, p. 687. China soon reaped the benefits of its work and established itself as the dominant external power in East Africa and Zaire. Thus by the time events in Angola began to unfold, China was in an outstanding position to come out in complete control of Angola's liberation process. As mentioned earlier this is one reason why the Soviets viewed Angola as a critical area. The Chinese assisted both FNLA and UNITA during the war of liberation. Support of FNLA was more long term in duration and consisted of arms, money, and training. UNITA, as time went on, proved themselves sufficiently anti-Soviet and were thus granted arms assistance. A shipment of 93 tons of Chinese arms arrived in Dar Es-Salaam destined for UNITA but due to President Nyerere's refusal to deliver them (unless UNITA joined MPLA in a struggle to defeat FNLA) they never reached their final destination. /Ref. 60, p. 2657. As the Angolan crisis developed the Chinese went along with the OAU decision of not recognizing any of the three groups struggling for power. The Soviets went against this O.A.U. decision and immediately recognized the MPLA. The Chinese also pulled out advisors and ceased arms shipments to UNITA and FNLA prior to the independence date for Angola which was set for 11 November 1975. They continued to berate the Soviets for their active support of MPLA during this time frame and secretly hoped the U.S. would take action to prevent the Soviets from carrying MPLA to power. The Chinese better than anyone else knew that they could not handle the massive buildup and the logistics

involved in a fight with the Soviets over Angola. Plus, they felt that liberation movements in the end should come to power essentially by their own means. China would soon find out that the Soviets had different ideas that they were intent on seeing through in Angola.

The Chinese goals in Africa can be summarized as follows. First, the Chinese desire to mobilize the third world countries under their influence. Second, they encourage all national liberation movements against colonial imperialistic powers. Third, they desire to decrease the influence of the USSR and USA amongst third world members. Fourth, the Chinese wish to establish the PRC as the "communist model" and "world leader" that champions the cause of the underdeveloped and exploited nations of the world. There is no doubt that the Soviet victory in Angola was a serious blow to these ambitions. It also gave the Chinese all the more reason to be extremely careful in dealing in the complex environment of Namibia's transition process.

The Chinese involvement in Namibia has been extremely low key. Like the Soviet Union, they also have been long time supporters of SWAPO. This support has included some training and clothing of SWAPO guerrillas and also small arms deliveries. By and large the Chinese support has been of low quality. SWAPO complains of receiving guns that don't work, parts that don't fit and clothes that are already worn. [Ref. 67]. It is quite evident that the Chinese are not trying to compete with the Soviets for SWAPO allegiance. At the same time SWAPO

admits it wants no part in the Chinese/Soviet rift and is only interested in who will help them in their struggle for independence. /Ref. 67.

A key factor in the future Chinese role in Namibia might be the recent U.S.-PRC rapprochement. It could lead to closer orchestration of U.S. and Chinese efforts to stop Soviet expansionism. Or, and this is quite probable, the Chinese may desire to stand back and oppose any great power activities in the region. This policy is more in line with the speech given by Premier Hua Kuo-Feng in December of 1976 when he stated: "We are determined to uphold the principles of proletarian internationalism, carry out the revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs formulated by Chairman Mao, strengthen our unity with the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people of the world, strengthen our unity with the third world countries and unite with all countries suffering from imperialist and social imperialist aggression, subversion, intervention, control and bullying so as to oppose the hegemonism of the two superpowers." /Ref. 61, p. 31-447. It remains to be seen just what course the Chinese will take. The only sure thing is that, as always, it will not be a hurried decision.

3. United States

It is no coincidence that the Rockefeller Foundation is considering a proposal for a 1.5 million dollar two-year study concerning U.S. involvement in Africa. /Ref. 62, p. A117. The subject is one of great concern to all U.S. foreign policy-

makers especially in the wake of events in Angola. The turmoil in southern Africa has cast doubts about the substantive meaning of detente, and raised new questions about U.S. willingness to exercise its power in international affairs. [Ref. 63, p. 127]. The words of former Secretary of State, Henry A. Kissinger, were on the mark when he stated: "The civil war in Angola represents the first time since the aftermath of World War II that the Soviets have moved militarily at long distances to impose a regime of their choice. It is the first time that the U.S. has failed to respond to Soviet military moves outside of their orbit. And it is the first time that Congress has halted the executive action while it was in the process of meeting this kind of threat. If the U.S. is seen to emasculate itself in the face of massive, unprecedented Soviet and Cuban intervention what will be the perception of leaders around the world as they make decisions concerning their future security." [Ref. 64, p. 157]. The debacle of Angola can be blamed on various factors. One was the State Department's backward policy toward southern Africa that was based on the NSSM 39 belief that black nationalists, even with outside assistance, could not overthrow white governments. [Ref. 44, p. 2397]. This theory was supported by the military and intelligence services of Portugal, South Africa, and Rhodesia. [Ref. 60, p. 2667]. Another factor was the poor performance of the CIA. Intelligence failures included: (1) a failure to appreciate the strength and determination of the Angolan liberation movements, (2) a failure to anticipate the coup in Portugal in 1974 and its affect on the

Portuguese colonies in Africa, (3) a failure to estimate the scope of the Soviet Angolan program. (A CIA option paper of 16 July 1975 stated the Soviets response would not likely exceed 40 million dollars.) By February 1976 the actual Soviet investment had topped 400 million dollars, (4) a failure to foresee the Cuban response of introducing 15,000 regular army troops into the conflict, (5) a failure to foresee the negative reaction of key African leaders to the presence of South African military on the U.S. side of the conflict, (6) the false intelligence from various CIA human intelligence sources, that M16 jet aircraft were present in Angola in November of 1975 and (7) a failure of the CIA to provide adequate intelligence coverage of the war, the politics of Angola, about the MPLA, and even about the CIA's own allies. [Ref. 65, p. 13-14]. In all, Angola represented a breakdown in U.S. foreign policy regarding the quick changing events on the African continent. A repeat of that performance cannot be tolerated in Namibia.

The U.S. has already taken steps to see that history does not repeat itself in Namibia. President Carter has publically committed the U.S. "to seek a peaceful resolution to the crisis in Southern Africa and the acceptance of the principle of majority rule for Rhodesia/Namibia and South Africa." [Ref. 66, p. 16]. This commitment has been backed up by intense U.S. negotiating in order to help bring about peaceful transitions to the troubled areas. In order to clarify how the U.S. would accomplish its goal, Anthony Lake, Director of the Policy Planning Staff of the U.S. State Department, out-

lined 6 elements of the U.S. approach toward Africa, in October of 1977. The six elements were: (1) to engage in diplomatic activity to help resolve conflicts before outlined involvement escalates, (2) U.S. diplomatic efforts will strive for genuine self determination, rather than seeking "made-in-America" solutions, (3) a realization by the U.S. that it cannot rely on unilateral diplomacy, (4) an encouraging of African initiatives to mediate African disputes, (5) a U.S. recognition of the role the UN can play in dealing with African problems, and (6) a desire by the U.S. to minimize its military involvement in African conflicts. [Ref. 67, p. 44-48]. The United States has stuck to this formula in its dealings concerning Namibia and hopefully will avoid many of the pitfalls of past U.S. policy regarding Africa.

However Namibia poses some tough problems for U.S. policymakers. Should Soviet actions in Namibia be linked to SALT? Are the Cubans a stabilizing influence in the region? Should the U.S. support sanctions against South Africa due to its intransigence concerning Namibian independence? Does the U.S. even need to get involved in Namibia? There are many different answers to these questions and definitely the lack of a consensus exists at the present time. However, a review of some of the key policymakers feelings sheds light on the route the U.S. is presently on.

In the area of "linkage" President Carter stated the U.S. position quite clearly when he said, "We have no desire to link the (SALT) negotiations with other competitive relation-

ships nor to impose other special conditions on the process. In a democratic society, however, where public opinion is an integral factor in the shaping and implementation of foreign policy, we recognize that tensions, sharp disputes, or threats to peace will complicate the quest for an agreement." /Ref. 68, p. A21/. In other words, the U.S. does not necessarily want linkage but due to the nature of our society it will occur. In another policy related area President Carter supported U.N. Ambassador Young's view that the Cuban expeditionary force was a "stabilizing influence" in Angola. /Ref. 66, p. 32/. Months later at a press conference in Spoken, Washington, the President condemned the presence of Cuban troops in Africa "as a danger to nurturing U.S.-Soviet relations." /Ref. 50, p. A19/. It is easy to see how complicated the southern Africa problem can become by just looking at these two statements.

The dilemma concerning whether to enforce economic sanctions against South Africa is equally as baffling. If sanctions are enforced the chances are that more economic damage will be done to the blacks in Botswana than to the South Africans. /Ref. 69/. Nevertheless pressure for sanctions from black African leaders and various U.S. groups, which oppose South Africa's policy of apartheid is growing stronger. The U.S. is "condemned if they do (by South Africa) and condemned if they don't (by black Africans). The present policy is not to enforce economic sanctions and as a result U.S. influence in black Africa has reached a low point.

The U.S. relationship with SWAPO has never been warm. This is expected due to America's "status quo" policy in Africa up until the Angola Crisis. Nevertheless, SWAPO considers itself "nonaligned" between East and West despite the heavy arms support it receives from the Soviet Union. The leadership role the U.S. has taken in the UN Western Contact Group is an important part of the new U.S. image. For almost two years now it has been trying to get SWAPO and South Africa to come to an agreement. It has subsequently fallen into disfavor with both groups; each accusing the U.S. of favoring the other. There are indeed goals the U.S. has in trying to obtain a peaceful settlement in Namibia. These goals are much more specific than the "U.S. policy elements" mentioned earlier. First, the U.S. desires to maintain economic stability in the area due to the large amounts of key materials that must not be allowed to fall under Soviet control. Second, the U.S. desires to demonstrate it can orchestrate a peaceful settlement and thus act as a great power in Africa. Third, in the aftermath of Angola the U.S. desires to demonstrate it has not weakened in the face of communist expansion. Fourth, the U.S. desires to increase its image as the leader of the "free" world. Fifth, the U.S. desires to ensure that the strategic oil route is not endangered. Sixth, the U.S. wishes to assist South Africa in gradually changing its policy of apartheid while at the same time pressuring it to grant Namibia independence through a U.N. supervised and controlled election. These goals are indeed attainable at a very low cost to the United States. Other than being accused

of seeking to protect capitalistic interests in Namibia the only other cost to the U.S. is the loss of status should it fail in its leadership role. Failure will mean another victory for the USSR, a reduction in U.S. great power influence, and a feeling of helplessness on the part of other U.S. allies. It is therefore imperative that the U.S. see through the tough going in Namibia. It cannot allow the Soviets to settle the issue through armed conflict. The task will be a tough one especially since Public Opinion, the Congress, and Presidential and Party Politics all play such a vital role in U.S. foreign policy. America must cope with a public that is wary of another Vietnam and doesn't know or care about Namibia. It must deal with a Congress which now has a history of cutting support for African initiatives and is wary of another Angola type conflict. Finally, the President and leaders of his party must find the courage to be firm in Namibia despite the impact firmness may have on other issues (i.e., SALT). A philosophy of "Let the Soviets have their own Vietnam" or "Let the Cubans and Russians dig their own graves" is a foolish one to follow in Africa. It is a copy out on U.S. responsibilities as a world leader. It is depending on some other outside force or perhaps even luck, to shape events. The U.S. should not let it be said, that if the Cubans and Russians are found to have dug their own graves in Namibia, that it was of no thanks to the enemies of totalitarianism. [Ref. 70]

The great powers in Africa are approaching a critical point in the post Angola environment. Namibia could well

provide the setting for the next struggle. All the powers have had dealings in the region and are familiar with the costs and benefits of an involvement there. The U.S. learned well from its experience in Angola and has established itself as one of the key leaders in the search for a peaceful transition process. It will take great will and determination to see its mission through. The U.S. must first, however, weather the abuses of both angry black Africans and disgruntled South Africans. There is hope that the Chinese might play a new and constructive role in the search for a peaceful transition process. The U.S. would obviously encourage this. The problems will be severe should a peaceful accord not be reached. The Soviets will more than likely be there to accelerate the armed conflict and turn Namibia into a bloody battleground as they did in Angola. The role of the great powers is thus one that all Africans would like to see reduced. The reason is very simple to understand. It is African soil that becomes the "chessboard" and African lives, the "pawns" to be sacrificed, once great powers enter the African arena. It is for this reason that a peaceful settlement becomes all the more important not only for the great powers but for the Africans themselves.

B. THE INTERNATIONAL PALADINS

1. Cuba

It would be improper to view the present Cuban involvement in Africa as strictly a response to Soviet demands. The

label of "surrogate" implies this and leaves out various Cuban factors which influence that nation's actions abroad. At the same time it would be incorrect to assert that Cuba is a self directed internationalist revolutionary force. This label fails to account for the great impact that Soviet ideology, desires and capabilities have on Cuban foreign policy. The best description of Cuba is that offered by Dr. Edward Gonzales who states that Cuba is a self motivated "international paladin." [Ref. 71]. This term denotes a Cuba that is able to manipulate and influence the Soviet Union both actively and passively in order to achieve its own goals. Cuba enjoys a privileged status with the Soviets and it is due in large part to Castro's ability to convince the Soviets of the importance of Cuba's goals. A measure of Castro's success is indicated in the fact that Soviet subsidies to Cuba have risen three and one-half times since 1975. A large part of this is, of course, due to Cuba's major role in Africa.

The Cubans are by no means new to the African continent. Only fifteen years ago it was the United States that was concerned with concealing their presence there. At that time the conflict area was the Congo and the CIA was actively enlisting Cuban exiled pilots to fly the Congolese government's aircraft. [Ref. 72]. The Cubans played an active role throughout the 1960's and 1970's. In fact, since 1961 the Cubans have deployed conventional combat troops to Africa four times: to Algeria (1963), to Syria (1973), to Angola (1975), and to Ethiopia (1978). In the first two cases deployments involved roughly

500 men and the troops were withdrawn after the crises ended. In the cases of Angola and Ethiopia the deployments were much larger and the fighting continues. [Ref. 73, p. 34]. There is no doubt that Castro sees Africa as "the weakest link in the chain of imperialism." [Ref. 74]. He has fully aligned himself with the Soviet Union's mission in Africa and is continually supporting the world's socialist movement. This was evidenced by his recent trip to Africa in April of 1977. Regarding his trip Castro commented, "I was able to see the great confidence the underdeveloped nations and the nations of Africa which lived under colonialism, have in the socialist camp and especially in the Soviet Union." [Ref. 75, p. 69]. These nations do indeed have a right to look to both the Soviet Union and Cuba with confidence, especially after their strong show of force during the Angolan revolution.

Castro's role in Angola can be traced to the late 1960's when a permanent advisory force of Cubans was sent to support the MPLA. No definite increases in force level could be observed until 25 July 1975. However, after the introduction of South African forces (on 11 August 1975) as security guards for the Cunene hydroelectric project, the Cuban involvement grew quickly. As the hostilities mounted the number of Cuban troops rose to 12,000 men while the South African forces quickly passed the 1,000 level. Eventually Cuba with the help of Soviet logistics carried the day for the MPLA. [Ref. 64, p. 83].

The role of Cuba in Angola was praised by the Third World and the Soviets yet condemned by the U.S. and many of its allies. It appeared as though Cuba had become the main military advisors for regimes opposed to almost everything the democracies of the world stood for. [Ref. 74]. The subsequent Cuban actions in Ethiopia did little to change that feeling in the U.S. By early 1978 roughly 1,000 Cuban military advisors and 500 to 1,500 Soviet military advisors had descended on Ethiopia's war torn soil. [Ref. 76, p. 37]. The estimate of Cuban involvement on the continent reached 50,000 by April 1978. Of these roughly 39,000 fell into the category of military advisers or combat personnel. See Figure 12 for details. [Ref. 77, p. 37].

Why should Castro undertake such a large operation so far from Cuba? Perhaps his actions were spurred on by his previous failures in Latin America or by feelings of internationalist duty coupled with his inflated self image. All these factors, combined with Cuba's nonaligned, non-racist, and small power status, made the country a natural to play the "hero" role in Africa. [Ref. 78, p. 22]. It is safe to assume that Castro also desired to refurbish his image as a revolutionary leader and enhance Cuba's role and influence in the Third World and Latin America. [Ref. 64, p. 91]. These factors might once again come into play as Cuba examines the upcoming transition process in Namibia.

In Namibia the Cubans are viewed as "saviours" and "heroes." [Ref. 67]. Many are hoping that they too will be

Cuban Forces in Africa

Algeria - 35 to 50 advisers.

Angola - between 23,000 and 26,000, of which 19,000 have military roles, although not all are soldiers.

Benin - 20 advisers.

Congo Republic - 400 to 500 advisers, of whom 300 are soldiers.

Equatorial Guinea - between 100 and 400 advisers, with perhaps half of them in military personnel.

Ethiopia - between 17,000 and 18,000, with half or more serving in military capacities.

Guinea - at least 500 advisers, perhaps several hundred more, most of whom are military personnel with some serving presidential bodyguard functions.

Guinea-Bissau - somewhere between 300 and 500 advisers, the greatest part being soldiers.

Libya - between 125 and 150 military advisers, and maybe 100 medical personnel.

Mozambique - between 850 and 1,000 advisers, the majority being soldiers, but perhaps 400 civilian technicians.

Sao Tome y Principe - about 100, the majority being medical personnel.

Sierra Leone - a small group of advisers working on security matters, number unknown.

Tanzania - between 200 and 400 advisers.

Cape Verde Islands - 15 to 20 medical and paramedical personnel.

Source: Christian Science Monitor, 28 April 1978.

Figure 12. Breakdown of Cubans in Africa: April 1978.

liberated by Cuban troops some day. /Ref. 6/. Cuba has been a long time supporter of SWAPO and only recently the Cuban Council of State, vice president "reaffirmed his resolute support for SWAPO and the Namibian people in their just struggle against colonialism and racism." /Ref. 79, p. Q3/. However, Namibia poses a difficult problem for Cuba. SWAPO has not shown itself to be an effective and well organized military force and the foe, South Africa, is the most powerful on the continent. /Ref. 78, p. 21/. These factors have led to a very conservative approach on the part of Cuba in supporting SWAPO. There is also the struggle with UNITA which further complicates matters in southern Angola. One of South Africa's obvious desires is to see SWAPO refused sanctuary and assistance from Angola. In order to achieve this goal the possibility exists that South Africa might offer to slacken or even end its support of UNITA and also cease its raids across the Angolan border in search of SWAPO bases. This agreement might be very tempting to President Neto of Angola, who is attempting to end all fighting and stabilize his country. Thus the attempt by South Africa to link its support of UNITA to Angolan and Cuban support for SWAPO is a critical factor that will impact greatly on future Cuban/SWAPO relations.

Cuba has gained added leverage in the Namibian conflict due to its influence on Soviet decision making. In weighing the costs and benefits of an involvement the Soviets must correctly ascertain the Cuban position. This was demonstrated recently in the Soviets yielding to Cuba's position during the

anti-Neto factions dispute and also on the military solution to Eritrea. /Ref. 80, p. 187. Cuba commands a position of respect in the third world (and particularly Africa) which the Soviets must acknowledge. It has thus managed to maintain a large degree of independence concerning when and where Cubans will fight on the African continent. There is little doubt that Castro has proven himself quite capable of manipulating the Soviets so that Cuba's foreign policy objectives can be met while at the same time satisfying the perceived desires of the USSR. Namibia may well provide the setting in which Castro can enhance his image in the third world while enabling the Soviets to expand their influence further into southern Africa.

What impact does Cuban assistance have on a liberation movement? While inspecting the former SWAPO base at Cassinga, nicknamed "Moscow," (after it had just been destroyed by a recent South African raid) the Soviet General Chakhanovich commented, "the combat value of SWAPO can hardly be considered higher than that of MPLA prior to action by the Cubans." /Ref. 48, p. J37. This is an ominous statement when examined in the wake of Angola. It is not the presence of Cuban troops in the continent that is alarming. They have a right and in fact a tradition of involvement in Africa. It is when these troops are used only to further the goals of Cuba and the Soviet Union that there is reason for the United States to protest. Angola is now history but there is indeed reason to believe that if conditions in Namibia deteriorate the "paladin" will strike again.

2. East Germany

The emergence of East Germany (GDR) as an actor in Namibia's transition process should not be taken lightly. The territory has a history of German influence and in fact was ruled by Germans from 1884 til 1915. During that timeframe the Germans built railways, dams, and developed copper and diamond mining. They were also involved in the suppression of the Herero and Nama uprisings. More than 17,000 volunteers left Germany for Namibia in order to subdue these tribal insurgents [Ref. 25, p. 127]. By the time German rule came to an end the territory of Namibia had a distinct German heritage. Even today 23 percent of the white population speak the German language. This group also represents the "middle class" of the white community. Although these factors by no means indicate a desire to be liberated by East Germany they do reflect the historical significance of Germany's role in the territory.

East Germany is more dependent on the Soviet Union than Cuba and thus the term "proxy" might be more appropriate than "paladin." However, this soon might be subject to change. In most areas of foreign policy the GDR essentially provides "lip service" to Soviet positions. Today, in Africa, however, it is second only to Cuba in providing advisers and support to leftist movements and regimes. It does not send troops into combat but yet provides equipment and between 3,000 to 4,500 instructors (in police and security operations) to countries in Africa and the Middle East. The emerging role of the GDR in Africa was symbolized by the February 20, 1979 signing of a 20 year friend-

ship and cooperation treaty with Angola which was the first East Germany has signed with any third world country (other than the special cases of Vietnam and Mongolia). The treaty pledges that the two signers agree to struggle "against the power of imperialism for the elimination of all remains of colonialism, against neo-colonialism and against racism in all forms." /Ref. 81, p. 67.

The recent visit of East German state and party chief Erich Honecker to Angola, Mozambique, Libya, and Zambia is further evidence of the emerging role of the GDR in Africa. While in Angola Mr. Honecker met with SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma and was thanked for his "continuous political, diplomatic and material support." /Ref. 81, p. 67. That East Germany may one day emerge as a "paladin" rather than a Soviet "proxy" is not that remote of a possibility. It is most definitely a role that would provide added prestige for the GDR in the international arena. East Germany is presently a country in search of an identity. It is caught up in the euphoria of communist solidarity and fraternal assistance. In searching for this international identity it has trained astronauts for the Soviet Union and world class athletes for the Olympics. It has also sent advisors to Angola and Ethiopia to aid their socialist brothers. /Ref. 78, p. 237. It should come as no surprise then that the East Germans would like to play a major role in the liberation of Namibia. The recent visit of SWAPO President San Nujoma to East Germany and his praise for "the solidarity of the countries of the socialist community" is another indication of

the bonds between SWAPO and the GDR. /Ref. 82, p. H67.

There are many who scoff at the thought of any East Germany involvement in Namibia's war of liberation. /Ref. 317. However, the following French intelligence report is indeed food for thought. Part of the report states, "airborne troops are supposed to take Windhoek, Namibia in a surprise attack and hold it as a pawn. In this difficult action Soviet General Chakhanovich does not want to rely on the Cubans or Angolans. For this purpose a coordination staff was established at "Vila Henrique de Carvalho" by the 5th Paratrooper Regiment of the National Peoples Army stationed in Ruegen. These elite troops of the Honecker state could be flown from Angola, within a couple of hours to the outskirts of Windhoek. There are also three Pioneer companies of the GDR National People's Army and a communications company stationed in Angolan towns near the Namibian border. These forces are to guarantee the unhindered advance of tank units and troops in the direction of Walvis Bay and Windhoek." Once the country is liberated there are plans for foreign experts, particularly those from the GDR, to administer important cities. /Ref. 48, p. J37.

The plan is not as unrealistic as some may think. Action like this on the part of the East Germans might take some of the international pressure off of the Cubans in Africa. Furthermore it would give the Soviets more control over the actions of the group actually doing the fighting. The Soviets have had problems with Cuba and a more controllable relationship would be welcomed. Ideally as a member of the Warsaw Pact,

East Germany would also welcome the opportunity of lending fraternal assistance to another socialist brother in need. It would give the GDR the image they are desperately searching for. Thus, acting in concert with Cuban and Angolan troops, East Germany might very well play a major role in Namibia. If it has learned anything at all from observing Cuba it may be able to act not as simply a Soviet "proxy" but rather as a "paladin" in search of its own identity.

In discussing Namibia's future both Cuba and East Germany have decisive roles. They are the forces that may actually be deployed alongside SWAPO in a war of liberation. How well these nations manage to accomplish their own objectives while at the same time aiding SWAPO's cause is their own measure of effectiveness. How well they meet the pressures applied on them by the Soviets is yet another factor they must consider. It is a difficult role to play but nevertheless both countries are poised to act as the Namibian transition process gradually unfolds. There is one sobering question that these "international paladins" cannot help but ask themselves as conflict grows near. In the face of powerful South African forces in Namibia; are the Soviets really "willing to fight and die until the last Cuban or East German?"

C. THE MEDIATORS

1. United Nations

The conflict over Namibia is yet another challenge to the UN's ability to find peaceful solutions to explosive situations. The problem of Namibia has been on the UN agenda

for almost 33 years and now most definitely has moved to the center stage. It is indeed enlightening to examine what action the UN has taken in regards to Namibia during that time.

After the League of Nations was dissolved all of its members except the Union of South Africa placed their mandated territories under the newly formed United Nations trusteeship. South Africa on the basis of a referendum it conducted in Namibia demanded that the territory be incorporated into the Union. No UN member except Great Britain approved of this move. A 1950 ruling by the International Court of Justice at the Hague sided with South Africa in agreeing that Namibia need not be placed under UN trusteeship. By 1958 a UN committee was preparing a partitioning of Namibia; the UN quickly rejected this proposal. In 1964 the UN General Assembly voted to end South Africa's mandate and also agreed on referring to the country as Namibia instead of South West Africa. This ruling was followed by a 1969 vote that called on South Africa to withdraw its administration from the territory. South Africa's refusal to do so prompted the UN Security Council to ask the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion on the legal consequences of the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia. In 1971 the International Court of Justice ruled that the South African presence in Namibia was illegal. South Africa immediately rejected the ruling as being "politically influenced." The year 1972 marked a period of intense UN consultation over Namibia. Secretary General Waldheim visited South Africa and moves were made to initiate contact

between all parties concerned with "Namibia's right to self determination and independence." /Ref. 83, p. 632-633/.

UN action regarding Namibia intensified with the coming of 1973. Resolutions were passed authorizing Dr. Waldheim to continue negotiations with all interested parties until April of that year. The Council on Namibia was enlarged and both the USSR and PRC became members. By years end South Africa was the target of widespread condemnation in regards to its policy of apartheid and the colonialism it demonstrated in Namibia. Due to South Africa's lack of "commitment to change" the UN voted on December 11, 1973 to break off talks with South Africa over the future of Namibia and "recognized SWAPO as the authentic representative of the Namibian people." /Ref. 83, pg. 634/.

The UN Security Council decided on December 17, 1974 to give South Africa until May 30, 1975 to make a solemn declaration of its intentions for Namibia. Roughly one year later South Africa rejected any UN supervision of Namibia's future but indicated it would discuss the country with the UN or a committee from the O.A.U. In the following months it appeared South Africa seemed intent on the formulation of an internal settlement. Thus by early 1976 the United Nations passed resolutions calling for elections in Namibia to be "supervised and controlled" by UN observers. Later that year it voted to support SWAPO's "armed struggle in Namibia." /Ref. 84, p. 636/.

Since early 1977 a UN Western Contact Group has been seeking to negotiate a settlement between SWAPO and South Africa.

The five member nations include the United States, West Germany, Canada, Britain and France. Difficulties in getting the parties concerned to agree on terms for the election has been extremely frustrating. The biggest stumbling block was that there were differences between the Western Contact Group's plan adopted by South Africa and the Waldheim plan that was eventually adopted by the UN. Major discrepancies existed in the numbers of UN troops that would supervise the elections and also on the date the elections would take place.

Overall the UN has come out strongly through the years against both apartheid and South African colonialism. It has been stymied at times by the United States refusal to support strong measures in the face of South African intransigence. This was illustrated in 1975 when the U.S. exercised its veto (along with Britain and France) to prevent Security Council adoption of a mandatory arms embargo, which was sought because South Africa had failed to end its illegal occupation of Namibia. [Ref. 84, p. 397]. Two years later the U.S. finally agreed to an UN arms embargo but whether it will support any future sanctions is uncertain. Talks of a UN controlled election in late 1979 are doubtful yet possible. [Ref. 85, p. 22]. In the meantime Black Africa will continue to call for strong sanctions against South Africa; the Western group will most probably vote "no" while it continues its negotiations, and SWAPO will fight on and on and on!

Perhaps the key aspect of UN involvement in Namibia is the fact that it is involved at all. There is a solid frame-

work for discussions and well established lines of communications between the parties concerned. If these conditions had been present in the Angolan conflict much bloodshed could quite possibly have been avoided. The UN, with the U.S. as its chief negotiator may well be the difference between the Namibia of 1979 and the Angola of 1975. As a mediator the UN has done an adequate job over the years. It has listened to both sides and attempted to resolve the differences. It is up to SWAPO and South Africa to make the final concessions that will mean the difference between peaceful transition and prolonged warfare.

2. Front Line States

The Front-Line Presidents, Tanzania's Julius Nyerere, Mozambique's Samora Machel, Angola's Agostinho Neto, Botswana's Seretse Khama and Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda, exercise a great deal of control over the ongoing liberation struggle in Namibia. These front line states have a tremendous impact on the rest of the O.A.U.'s membership regarding events in southern Africa.

The role of the front line states in Angola was in fact a reflection of the turmoil that took place within that country. Presidents Kaunda and Khama ended up on opposite sides from Presidents Nyerere and Machel over the Angolan controversies and thus no clear cut course or policy could be established. The O.A.U. membership which is so greatly influenced by the front line states view was also divided over the issues. [Ref. 42, p. 754].

On September 13-14, 1975 the Presidents of Tanzania, Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia met in Lusaka to discuss the

civil war in Angola. A decision was reached to send three peace missions to Kinshasa, Luanda, and Lisbon to help reconcile the rival Angolan liberation groups. Earlier efforts on the part of the various front line states to establish an Angolan "common front" to negotiate that nation's transition to independence had failed (most notably the Bukavu Agreement of 28 July 1974). However, hopes for a more peaceful transition were still not shattered. The ensuing struggle for independence in November of 1975 coupled with the front line state split over the issues quickly dashed any idea of a bloodless independence. Arms shipments, troop support, and liberation sanctuaries quickly became vital issues confronting the front line states. Presidents Kaunda, Machel, and Nyerere met in Dar-Es-Salaam on 15 December 1975 in an attempt to find a common ground. They were unable to do so as discussions ranged from subjects such as recognizing MPLA to the decision to hold Chinese arms destined to UNITA in the port of Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania. Even as late as 13 January 1976 the O.A.U.'s special session summit in Addis Ababa could not reach a decision as to how to end the war in Angola. [Ref. 83, p. XV]. Hopefully the impact of the front line states disunity over Angola will not be lost on the leaders of these nations as they attempt to influence events in Namibia. Presently there are three principles that the front line states seem to agree on concerning Rhodesia and these most certainly apply to Namibia as well. First, they are united in their desire to end the South African (white) rule of Namibia even at the cost of a

full scale guerrilla war. Second, there is a consensus that all foreign military and economic aid for the guerrillas must be channeled through the O.A.U. Liberation Committee in Dar Es Salaam. This is an attempt to prevent outside powers from supporting rival factions and thus repeating the events of Angola. Third, all fighting must be done by Namibians thus reducing the possibility of a large Cuban involvement and further reducing the chance for outside intervention. [Ref. 42, p. 753-754].

The front line states desire to keep the great powers off the African continent runs parallel with present U.S. policy. It also embraces the U.S. desire to solve African problems through African initiatives. [Ref. 68, p. 44-48]. The successful coercing of SWAPO to rejoin the UN transition talks in June of 1978 was an example of the leverage the front line states possess. [Ref. 86, p. 1914]. President Nyerere of Tanzania was assigned to work out problem areas that remained between SWAPO and the West. Within a month SWAPO agreed to forward the plan to the UN! [Ref. 10, p. 15].

There is no doubt that the front line states will play an important role in Namibia's future. As neighboring countries they are concerned about the progress of this new nation toward self government. They have "pledged their support for SWAPO in its struggle for independence from the RSA." [Ref. 87, pg. H6]. At the same time they fear the bloodshed of another Angola and the threat of outside intervention. [Ref. 88]. As tensions build the front line states will most assuredly do everything in their power to ease them. As mediators, how-

ever, they all share one common bias; that is their hatred for the South African government and its policy of apartheid. If it were not for this policy they might long ago have mediated what now looms as one of the most dangerous crises in southern Africa: Namibia's transition process.

3. Organization of African Unity

The creation of the O.A.U. on May 25, 1963 was the culmination of various attempts at establishing an inter-African organization. Its charter reflects a compromise between the concept of a loose confederation and that of a stronger federation of African states. The objectives of the organization include: (1) to promote the unity and solidarity of the African states, (2) to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa, (3) to eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa, (4) to defend the peoples of Africa sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence and (5) to promote international cooperation. /Ref. 83, p. 37/.

In keeping with its charter the O.A.U. is extremely concerned with events in southern Africa. It sees South Africa as the key to solving the problems in the region due to that nation's policies of colonialism and apartheid. The O.A.U. fully supports SWAPO and continually calls for sanctions against South Africa because of its illegal occupation of Namibia. /Ref. 89, p. 124-125/. The liberation movements have found the O.A.U. to be a staunch supporter since its founding in 1963. This is due to the organization's dedication to collective action against the "white south" in order to complete the

African revolution. /Ref. 90, p, 57. One component of the O.A.U. is extremely important to the liberation groups. That component is the African Liberation Committee (ALC). It is responsible for managing a special fund raised by voluntary contributions of unspecified amounts and for harmonizing collective assistance to liberation movements. "The ALC has adopted its work guidelines based on four principles: (1) that the relation, concern and interest of geographical neighbors should be weighed when considering aid to any given colonial or dependent territory; (2) that contiguous states by virtue of their local knowledge and proximity should play a vital role in the advancement and progress of any struggle; (3) that the 'host country' should be given the right of supervision over a liberation movement operating within its border; and (4) that care should be taken to evolve a policy of action that would not impair the sovereignty and independence or prejudice the security of the host state." /Ref. 60, p. 72 and 967.

The guidelines above illustrate the dominant role the O.A.U. plays in Southern Africa. It is the disseminator of arms, clothing, and money to the liberation movements on the continent. It has proven incapable of dealing with the problems of apartheid and colonialism by any other way than by violence. Thus, the O.A.U. symbolizes the weakness of the continent's political development. This in part explains why African problems often become externalized. The effectiveness of the O.A.U. can be gauged somewhat by its performance during the Angolan revolution. The Soviet Union not only defied the

O.A.U. by recognizing MPLA in November of 1975 but they even had the audacity to try to order the O.A.U. chairman to follow their line. /Ref. 42, p. 7517. This lack of respect for the O.A.U. was indicative of how little the Africans have come in being able to control and resolve their own disputes.

Namibia offers the chance for the O.A.U. to take the lead in finding "peaceful" solutions to apartheid and colonialism. The chances are it is not yet ready to accept that responsibility. In the meantime it will continue its role as the pipeline of support to the liberation movements of Africa.

The role of mediator is not one that comes easy. The UN has been working at it in Namibia for almost 33 years now. The best hope for a peaceful transition process in the territory lies in the ability of the UN "Western Contact Group" to work hand in hand with the front line states in trying to bring SWAPO and South Africa together. Only through a combination of the two mediators' efforts can both SWAPO and South Africa be coerced into an agreement. It is indeed regrettable that the continent lacks the political development to utilize possibly the best mediator of them all for something other than "arms support": its own Organization of African Unity.

D. THE ADMINISTRATOR

South Africa has been the administrator of Namibia for almost sixty years. Its mandate was rescinded for the last 15 of those years. Nevertheless South Africa still occupies Namibia and has been the subject of international scorn because of its actions there. The colonial nature of South Africa's occupation

of Namibia coupled with a policy of apartheid has brought enormous pressures to bear on its leaders.

The legality of South Africa's presence in Namibia is no longer even an issue. The territory is looked upon as a colonial possession and even South Africa has agreed to grant it independence. The question has now become one of what type of transition will take place there. This is where South Africa's policy of apartheid plays a major role. The policy has garnered the wrath of the entire world. It is the subject of UN and O.A.U. committees and even student demonstrations in the United States. The issue has become much bigger than just one more colony gaining its independence. It became an international cause! It is why, even though there are no less than 15 military dictatorships and 29 one party states on the African continent, the South Africans are still singled out for denying majority rule, one-man-one vote and human rights in Southern Africa.

"The champions of apartheid proceed from the very wrong assumption that in a society where members of various races come in close contact, racial conflicts are inevitable and only segregation can guarantee peace among the races. They argue that only by making various racial groups live separately from each other and drastically reducing contacts between them is it possible to avoid hostility and bloody clashes which, according to the present rulers of South Africa would inevitably plunge the country into chaos. Having proclaimed this theory to be the only true guarantee of racial peace, the authorities

accuse the opponents of the apartheid system of fomenting racial strife. The ideal form of apartheid, in the opinion of the Nationalists, would be to separate various national groups, not only in all spheres of activities but also territorially."

[Ref. 83, p. 792]. The desire to divide the Namibian people into separate tribal homelands, based on ethnic differences was one of the principles of the Turnhalle Conference. How South Africa could expect any international recognition for a conference so closely linked to apartheid is difficult to understand.

The policy of separate development or apartheid is going on full speed in South Africa. It is designed to prevent the country's 4 million whites from being politically swamped by the roughly 20 million non-whites through creation of nine independent homelands governed by blacks. Only 13 percent of the land and none of the country's industrial or urban centers is allocated to these homelands while some are made up of disconnected pieces of land. [Ref. 91, p. A12]. Plans also offer no black South African citizenship because they will all be citizens of a cast off homeland. This is an explosive issue and as one black South African put it: "South Africa is our fatherland and this set up is causing a lot of frustration." [Ref. 72, p. A14]. The outlet for this frustration was felt when in Soweto, a black suburb of Johannesburg, violent demonstrations broke out in June of 1976. This some say, is just the beginning of South Africa's internal strife. [Ref. 92, p. A16]. There are also signs that it is not only the blacks

who are unhappy in South Africa. Whites and their money are also leaving. This was brought home very dramatically in 1977 statistics which showed that for the first time in 18 years more whites left (26,000) than entered (24,882) South Africa. This was a far cry from the 1950's and 1960's when roughly 40,000 immigrants arrived annually. "People are reading the signs says one white doctor, they don't want to be here when the trouble starts and it is going to come at some stage." /Ref. 93, p. A13/. There appears to be no real change in store for the Republic of South Africa. Even with the handwriting on the wall it appears to be committed to apartheid. A recent plan submitted in January of 1979 by Prime Minister Botha totally omits 18 million of South Africa's blacks from the political process of government. /Ref. 94/. It is precisely this type of thinking that has turned Namibia's transition process into an international event with much more at stake in it than simply decolonization.

The past year in Namibia has been a tumultuous one for South Africa. When it accepted the Western plan in April of 1978 it appeared a peaceful transition process was possible. However, just a few weeks later it crossed 150 miles into Angola and killed hundreds of SWAPO members at their base in Cassinga. It was months before SWAPO would agree to negotiations. Finally, once again an agreement seemed near until on 20 September 1978, Prime Minister John Vorster resigned and rejected the UN peace plan due to changes that were made in the original Western proposals that South Africa had agreed upon. By conducting

its own elections in December of 1978 South Africa was the subject of demands for economic sanctions from black African Nations. Only the refusal of the Western powers to go along with these sanctions prevented them from being enacted.

The loss of Namibia to SWAPO is a subject of great concern in Pretoria. It would affect the Republic of South Africa in three areas: (1) Military Vulnerabilities, (2) Resource Vulnerabilities, and (3) Governmental and Ideological Vulnerabilities. /Ref. 22, p. 89/. A SWAPO government would place increased pressure on South Africa's borders and would act as a base for Soviet African liberation guerrillas. It would also control the Namibian exports that now account for 10 percent of South Africa's foreign exchange earnings. /Ref. 95, p. 56/, Finally it would violently oppose the system of government that South Africa represents. The fear of a communist takeover is always on the minds of South African leaders as evidenced by the words of its former Prime Minister, John Vorster: "International communism is not only a threat to Africa. It is now and will be for the foreseeable future, a threat to each and every country. The final goal is still world domination. It is for this reason, I believe that Communist nations put a high priority on extending their control to the southernmost tip of Africa. Possession of this strategic region would give them a tremendous advantage over the free world, particularly in a conventional war. Not only would the Communist nations deprive the free world of vital raw materials (and one could easily list a page of these) but they would straddle the Cape shipping route.

It should be remembered that two thirds of Europe's oil still passes around the Cape of Good Hope. The number of ships traveling this route annually amounts to 22,000 or more. In other words, one of the most important lifelines of the free world could be cut off at will if the Communists managed to seize control of this region." /Ref. 96/.

The action of South Africa during the Angolan Crisis reflected just how big their fear of communist domination really is. South Africa reacted strongly to Soviet-Cuban probes there but expected Washington to intervene as well. Overall, it misjudged the situation quite badly. It misread the mood of America, overestimated the strength of FNLA and UNITA, and misjudged the Russian position by thinking that the Russians might abandon the MPLA. /Ref. 97, p. 385-386/. Perhaps the uneasiness over Angola was surpassed only by the new tensions that arose in the US-RSA relationship. Kissinger's Lusaka speech in April, 1976 when he condemned South Africa's "inequality of the races" and came out "on the side of majority rule" did little to soothe the already strained relationship. The U.S. backing the 1977 UN arms embargo against South Africa marked the all time low in the US-RSA long relationship.

South Africa is puzzled by the present U.S. position in Africa. The countries have had close relations in the past, fighting alongside each other in both World Wars and participating in the Berlin Airlift, and Korean War together. A desire to cooperate with the West in fighting international communism remains an important part of South Africa's foreign policy.

[Ref. 98. p. 17]. It is also committed to supplying the U.S. and the West with the many raw materials their economies need so badly. South Africa is one of the richest nations in the world, particularly in the areas of gold, diamonds, chrome, and iron ore. The U.S. is also becoming more and more dependent on South Africa for strategic minerals. See Figure 13 for breakdown of key minerals exported from S.A. as a percentage of U.S. imports. These factors, along with South Africa's key access to the Cape Oil Route, make it wonder why the U.S. appears to be deserting it in its struggle against communism. South Africa is even more amazed at why the U.S. would support economic sanctions against it due to its decisions on Namibia. There are numerous reasons given for why the West should block sanctions against South Africa. First, there is no moral case for sanctions unless all countries that are violators of human rights are included. Second, South Africa is an important link to Western Security. Third, Western investment creates roughly 500,000 jobs for migrant workers. Fourth, the private sector is the leading catalyst for change and should not be hampered in its progressive efforts. Finally, the first people to suffer from sanctions would be the blacks themselves not white South Africans. [Ref. 99, p. 257].

Meanwhile, sanctions or no sanctions the guerrilla war goes on and the cost to South Africa grows daily. Due to the Namibian conflict South Africa was forced to extend its military defense 1,600 miles from the Zambizi River to the Atlantic. It has had to keep a large army in the north (10-15 thousand men)

Key U.S. Imports from the R.S.A.

<u>MINERALS</u>	<u>PERCENT</u>
ANTIMONY ORE	- 43%
CHROME	- 30%
CHROMITE	- 21%
FERROCHROME	- 35%
COPPER	- 6%
FERRO MANGANESE	- 36%
PLATINUM GROUP METALS	- 48%
VANADIUM	- 57%
VERMICULITE	- 100%

Source: United States Foreign Policy and the Republic of South Africa, 1978.

Figure 13. Key Minerals Exported from RSA as a Percentage of U.S. Imports

and build roads, bases and airfields to support them. These forces maintain control over vital water supplies, fuel dumps and telecommunication facilities as well as patrol the border region in search of SWAPO guerrillas. [Ref. 25, p. 30]. South Africa has lost 67 men in the last two years fighting the war against SWAPO. Despite the relatively small toll the soldiers themselves are beginning to wonder why they are fighting. One white South African who had served there commented: "The guys who go to the border, they don't want to be there and they ask why are we fighting in a country that isn't ours?" The war goes on however both at the border and in the cities of Namibia as well. There the police come down hard on SWAPO activities and many supporters wind up political prisoners or detainees. [Ref. 15, p. A18].

There is an ever growing fear that Namibia is headed for the same path Angola took. South Africa's "internal settlement" last December most certainly started those wheels in motion. It also reflected a South African desire to "Africanize" the conflict. Hopefully, consistent western diplomatic pressure, South Africa's own political instability and their recent oil problems (caused by the Iranian turmoil) will force South Africa into a more cooperative mood. [Ref. 100, p. 22]. They possess an unjustified belief that a strong military will enable them to maintain their policy of apartheid. They should look carefully at what happened to the Shah of Iran recently! A powerful military will only delay in South Africa what it needs quite desperately: a voice for the 18 million "noncitizen" blacks!

Namibia represents the final buffer. It is here that the policies of colonialism and apartheid are before the world. South Africa's inability to deal with these problems in Namibia give a dire warning of things to come when the arena becomes its homeland and not simply a mandated territory.

IV. THE LESSONS OF ANGOLA

A. THE "ANGOLAN" MODEL

Is Namibia heading down the same bloody path as Angola?

In order to answer this question it is first necessary to establish the framework within which Angola developed. There is most definitely a linkage between these two African nations.

In the words of distinguished African scholar John A. Marcum, "The same sort of knowledge necessary for an understanding of

Angola will be necessary for predictive or retrospective insight into the looming crises of Rhodesia, Namibia, and South

Africa." [Ref. 60, p. 281]. There is indeed a feeling that

Angola established a trend in Africa. Subsequent events in

Ethiopia did little to allay Western fears that Soviet and Cuban military power was shaping the future of the African continent.

Prime Minister John Vorster of South Africa expressed great concern over the implications of the Angolan revolution when he addressed his countrymen on December 31, 1976. "In our

part of the world the Communists, in the case of Angola, have made an experiment. They risked quite a lot in making it, but

today they know the answer. They know that, on the Angolan pattern, they can subdue or attack any country in any part of

Africa including southern Africa, just as they did Hungary,

that voices will be raised in protest and that perhaps even threats will be made but nothing else will be done about it.

If, therefore, a Communist onslaught should be made against

South Africa directly or under camouflage, then South Africa will have to face it alone and certain countries who profess to be anti-Communist will probably even refuse to sell arms to South Africa to beat off the attack." /Ref. 101, p. 17. The sentiments of Mr. Vorster are not only shared by many South Africans but by many Americans as well.

In order to attain a better insight into what led to the Soviet involvement in Angola a model was developed. This model clearly delineates conditions that were present leading up to the Soviets heavy participation in Angola's war of liberation in 1975. It will also serve as a tool in analyzing Soviet behavior in the ongoing Namibian conflict. The analysis of the Angola Crisis of 1975 revealed the following 10 conditions which led to an unprecedented Soviet involvement in that nation's transition process. The conditions include:

(1) The Soviets established a solid foundation through a long history of support for a specified liberation group. They demonstrated little vacillation in their policies toward this group.

(2) The Soviets exhibited their support by consistently providing both military aid (arms shipments) and political backing (verbal pronouncements in the O.A.U. and UN) to a specified liberation group.

(3) The Soviets established a logistics base on the border of the country to be liberated.

(4) The country to be liberated suffered political or ethnic divisions that could easily be exploited.

(5) The country to be liberated was unable to negotiate a plan for a peaceful transition process.

(6) The country to be liberated lacked the presence of an international control force.

(7) The country to be liberated was left relatively unprotected due to the hesitancy or withdrawal of the colonial powers fighting force.

(8) At the time of the crisis there was a lack of a strong U.S. commitment to back a specific faction or enforce a consistent policy vis-a-vis the Soviet Union.

(9) At the time of the crisis there was an "international paladin" fighting force available for Soviet use.

(10) At the time of the crisis the Soviets envisioned an acceptable cost-benefit ratio based on a rational analysis of the situation.

These conditions can be subdivided into three separate stages. Conditions One thru Three represent "The Soviet Foundation." Conditions Four thru Seven delineate "The Buildup to Civil War." Finally conditions Eight thru Ten encompass "The Soviet Decision for Large Scale Involvement." Each of these stages will be examined thoroughly and similarities between Angola and Namibia revealed.

B. THE SOVIET FOUNDATIONS

1. The History of Support

Perhaps the key factor leading to Soviet influence in Africa's "wars of liberation" is the Soviet ability to lay solid foundations of support for specific liberation groups. Once

this history of assistance is established there is very little vacillation in Soviet policy. This pattern is quite clear in Angola and Namibia. In both these countries the Soviets are able to claim a long term affiliation with a particular group. This is in sharp contrast with the U.S. who for so long was associated with the status quo and even now has demonstrated little support for any liberation group. Thus, once hostilities break out the Soviets are in excellent position to back their group to power. At the same time the end of the peaceful process leaves the U.S. with little to work with except the colonial power.

In December 1956 the MPLA was organized in Angola. This liberation group was associated with the Angolan Communist Party and its Marxist orientation attracted early Soviet support. In the early 1960's under the direction of Dr. Augustinho Neto, the MPLA began to enjoy a significant increase of support, due to the Sino-Soviet rivalry in Africa and the association of its rival (FNLA) with the Western powers, particularly the U.S. Even though Soviet influence on the African continent reached a new low in 1968, (due to their invasion of Czechoslovakia) the MPLA remained a loyal defender of Soviet policy. This was a fact not to be forgotten by the Soviets who realized that MPLA was not truly Marxist but nevertheless had proven to be a faithful ally in a time of need. This loyalty coupled with increasingly alarming Chinese involvement with both UNITA and FNLA solidified the Soviet support of the MPLA. The support lasted until the 1972-73 timeframe when the Soviets showed

signs of vacillation. Due to a political crisis over the leadership of MPLA the Soviets withdrew their support. This MPLA leadership dispute combined with heavy Portuguese attacks left the MPLA in a state of disarray. Surprisingly, it was a coup in Portugal in April, 1974 that saved Neto! The Soviets, alarmed by the quick changing events were anxious to counter Chinese influence in Angola. They surmised that Neto would win the MPLA factional struggle anyway and thus they quickly resumed their support of him in the fall of 1974. The stage was now set for a heavy Soviet increase in arms shipments in order to "win the struggle" in Angola. /Ref. 467.

In Namibia the Soviets were able to ally themselves with SWAPO immediately after the groups formation on April 19, 1960. That year has already become widely known as Africa Year since it marked the emergence of seventeen independent states on the African continent. In December of 1960 the Soviets sponsored a UN declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It followed this action up in 1962 by proposing to the General Assembly that it demand immediate independence for the oppressed colonies. In 1963 the Soviets backed another resolution prohibiting delivery of weapons to South Africa. Finally in mid-1965 it supported a UN Special Committee decision to hold its sessions in three African countries to give representatives of national liberation movements a chance to voice their opinions. The United States voted against all of these actions. The only U.S. response to these moves (in Soviet eyes) was the establishment of the Southern

African Student Program (SASP). This group was formed to provide U.S. undergraduate study for the "future leaders" of southern Africa (including students from South West Africa/Namibia) and thus take the "revolution" away from the communists. /Ref. 45, p. 8-227.

Thus from 1960-66 Soviet support for SWAPO was evidenced by the strong verbal backing it gave to the liberation movements in the U.N. This was in sharp contrast to the U.S. policy of supporting the status quo. It should also be remembered that it was not until 1966 that SWAPO pledged itself to armed struggle in order to attain Namibia's liberation. It had previously attempted to achieve it through diplomatic channels. By the time the UN pronounced its support of SWAPO's war of liberation (in 1976) the Soviets had beat them to it by over ten years! For once SWAPO had committed itself to "armed struggle" it was Soviet arms funneled through the African Liberation Committee (ALC) that enabled them to carry on the struggle. /Ref. 67. Presently SWAPO is officially nonaligned and does receive some aid from the PRC and the Nordic countries. However, since Angola's revolution it has become more dependent on Angola based supplies received from the Soviet Union. /Ref. 67.

Thus Soviet support for SWAPO can actually be seen in three stages. The first stage from 1960-66 during which Soviet allegiance was principally a function of verbal support for SWAPO and other liberation movements in the UN and O.A.U. This would seem appropriate since SWAPO had not committed itself to armed struggle and was still seeking independence through dip-

lomatic channels. It is also possible that the Soviets were not ready to undertake a larger commitment during this time frame due to problems encountered in Cuba (missile crisis) and the Congo (the Soviet inability to handle large scale logistics).

The second stage from 1966 to 1976 was marked by SWAPO's pledge to "armed struggle" in Namibia and the Soviet shipping of arms to support this struggle. [Ref. 27, p. 96]. An increase in verbal backing was also forthcoming during this period. The Soviet press emphasized this support. The following articles are examples from the Soviet paper Izvestia: 1) A 9 September 1969 article quoting the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers (A. Kosygin) address to the O.A.U. in which he professed Soviet support for the final liberation of those nations struggling under colonialism in Africa. 2) A 12 July 1970 article discussing the joint Soviet-Central African communique in which both sides committed themselves toward seeing the legitimate rights of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa resoted, and 3) A 31 May 1972 article describing SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma's visit to the Soviet Union. The article went on to state that "the Soviet Union has unfailingly supported and now supports the just course of liberating Namibia from the yoke of the racists; it demands an end to the regime of slavery and police terror established there and is in favor of granting the country independence." These articles are only a small sample of the Soviet verbal support for SWAPO's liberation of Namibia. If SWAPO had decided not to maintain its "nonaligned" status and had become more pro-Soviet it would have probably received even

greater support (both military and verbal) during this period. SWAPO's "nonaligned" status is one of the major differences between it and the MPLA but as hostilities increase (as they do in the third stage) this status could change very quickly.

The third stage from 1976 to present marks a period of intensified Soviet involvement in southern Africa in which arms for SWAPO are not only funneled through the ALC but are also sent directly to SWAPO bases in Angola. [Ref. 48, p. J27]. At the same time Soviet supported "paladins" are located on the very borders of the country that the Soviets hope to see liberated (Namibia). Although the emphasis on armed support has increased there is still a strong verbal commitment to SWAPO as well. Meetings with Nikolai Podgorny (Soviet Union), Fidel Castro (Cuba) and Erich Honecker (East Germany) by SWAPO leader San Nujoma (in which these leaders expressed their country's support for SWAPO) have taken place in the past 23 months. Overall Soviet support for SWAPO has been a long and consistent policy stretching from that of strong verbal support in the early 1960's to a combination of verbal and arms support which is so clearly evidenced today. Barring any vacillation the Soviets appear committed to seeing SWAPO as the future government of independent Namibia.

Perhaps having learned from their vacillation in Angola the Soviets did not cut off aid to SWAPO during the groups leadership struggle in 1976-77. President Nujoma eventually emerged victorious and his opponents were jailed. Shortly afterwards Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny visited with Nujoma

(in April of 1977) with three goals in mind: "(1) a desire to allay widespread African suspicion of Soviet motives on the continent, (2) the continued displacement of Chinese influence in southern Africa and (3) the ceremonial underlining of Moscow's support, backed up with money and arms for the liberation movements fighting to free Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa from white minority rule." /Ref. 102, p. 237. Encouraged by this new vote of support SWAPO immediately stepped up its fighting in northern Namibia.

It is important to differentiate between a nation giving "last minute" support and one that has a long history of loyal assistance. In the African arena the U.S. all too often falls into the former category and the Soviets the latter. Events in Angola demonstrated the United States frustration over trying to find solutions without first having built a solid foundation of involvement in the area. The Soviets meanwhile had steadily built their structure of support toward the liberation movements in southern Africa and have already reaped the benefits in Angola. There is thus reason to believe that if hostilities increase in Namibia, the Soviets will be ready and equal to the task of supporting another "long time" associate in its quest to gain power.

2. Military Support and Political Backing

"The Soviet Union does not leave friends in a difficult hour." /Ref. 55, p. H117. This Soviet claim is most certainly true in regards to the events in Angola. There the Soviets demonstrated they would back their group not only with massive military aid but also politically in the international organiza-

tions like the UN and the O.A.U. In the past the USSR had not been militarily capable of handling the logistics involved in such a major operation. However, this time it was the U.S. who was not willing to take on the task and the Chinese who were not able to. The Soviets were now backing up their talk with action! It was estimated that 70 to 80 percent of the MPLA's arms came from the Soviets and its allies. Many of the group's leaders were also educated in Moscow. In fact as early as 1965 over 170 MPLA recruits were seen transiting Dar es Salaam enroute for training in the Soviet Union. [Ref. 60, p. 168]. This combination of supplying arms, schooling leaders in Marxist thought, and training members in guerrilla warfare became the Soviet formula for dealing with the liberation groups. Money seemed to be of no importance. Figure 14 lists the expensive "Instruments of Soviet Intervention in Angola." [Ref. 24, p. 94]. The estimated \$300 million the Soviets spent on the MPLA in 1975 was proof of their willingness to give the group their full support.

In the political arena the Soviets continually backed the MPLA and in late 1975 even challenged the O.A.U. decree of "nonrecognition" of the three groups struggling for power in Angola! Meanwhile, Soviet press and radio condemned both FNLA and UNITA as puppets of Washington and Peking. As Moscow is so quick to point out when "push came to shove" in Angola they backed up their words with the required military action and diplomatic support that resulted in the MPLA attaining power in Angola and eventually being recognized by both the O.A.U. and the UN.

THE INSTRUMENTS OF SOVIET INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA

Soviet Weapons Used by MPLA

Transport-Logistic Capability

	<i>Type</i>	<i>Number</i>
Grenades		
Submachine guns		
Various light and heavy machine guns	Soviet An-22 transport plane	30-40 ²
AK-47 rifles	Ilyushin-18 passenger plane	
Kalashnikov assault rifles	(Cuban owned, Soviet built, carrying Cubans)	
Simonov semi-automatic carbines	Ilyushin-62 passenger plane	
Armored cars	(Soviet owned, Soviet built, carrying Cubans)	
Personnel carriers		
Armored reconnaissance vehicles (BRDM-2)	Soviet ships	27
24mm, 25mm, 27mm recoilless rifles	Cuban ships	
12mm mortars	Bulgarian ships	
25mm, 82mm, 107mm recoilless guns	Yugoslav ships	
180mm recoilless antitank guns		
37mm, 14.5mm antiaircraft machine guns		

Aid for MPLA's Offensive

	<i>Nation</i>	<i>Aid</i>
120mm rocket launchers	USSR	\$300 M. in 1975
107mm, 122mm rockets		\$54 M. in last 14 yrs.
Katyushin rockets		400 technicians
Antivehicle and antitank mines		Also see other categories of aid
T-34 and T-54 tanks		
PT-76 amphibious tanks		
SAM-7 antiaircraft missiles (hand-held)	Cuba	12,000 combat troops, ships, transport planes, and jet pilots
MiG-21J jet fighter-bombers		
Helicopters		

Weapons Training for MPLA

Type and Place of Training

Jet use (by GDR)—Eastern Europe ¹		
Jet use (by Algerians; Cubans)—Congo Republic ¹	Congo Republic	Harbor for weapons shipments, airlifted to Luanda
Jet use (by Algerians; Cubans)—Luanda, Angola ²		2 MiG bases
Weapons use (by Cubans)—Luanda, Angola	Guinea	Transport plane and ship stopover
Weapons use (by N. Vietnam)—Luanda, Angola		
Weapons use (by Soviets)—Luanda, Angola ⁴	N. Vietnam	Unspecified aid
Weapons use (by Algerians)—Luanda, Angola	Guinea-Bissau	Unspecified aid
Insurgency (by Soviets)—Odessa, USSR	GDR	Unspecified aid

¹ Unconfirmed.

² As of December 20, 1975.

³ Some Portuguese not officially sanctioned by their government are reportedly training pilots in Luanda.

⁴ 400 Soviet technicians arrived in mid-November; unconfirmed reports alleged 500

Source: Strategic Review, Volume IV, No. 3, Summer 1976

Figure 14. Soviet Instruments in Angola

In Namibia, Soviet military support for SWAPO has increased in the past few years. The large buildup of Cuban and East German forces in southern Angola is partly responsible for the improvement in supplies. More than 400 combat tanks (both T-54 and T-62 types) were delivered to Angola in June of 1978. These were accompanied by large amounts of artillery, personnel carriers and infantry armaments. Although under the control of the Soviets these weapons could eventually be used by SWAPO forces. [Ref. 48, J27]. The ability of South Africa's army to cross over the Angolan border and destroy SWAPO bases has made the Soviets extremely cautious in the distribution of their weapons. Overall SWAPO is well equipped but lacks the manpower and leadership to take on the powerful South African army. Nevertheless, Soviet aid continues to flow through both the O.A.U. and Angola. AK-47 rifles, Kalashnikov assault rifles, and Simonov semi-automatic carbines are but a few of the weapons used in SWAPO's war of liberation against South Africa.

The Soviets have never hesitated to voice their support for SWAPO in the international community. It has continually voted for heavy sanctions against South Africa in the UN, whereas the U.S. usually abstains or vetoes these resolutions. The USSR is also a consistent supporter of the O.A.U.'s policy to end colonialism and apartheid in Africa. Finally, it has never waived in its support of the "armed struggle" solution to Namibia's transition process. There is no doubt that the Soviets are totally behind SWAPO both militarily and politically. As one Soviet broadcast noted: "As far as the Soviet people are

concerned, they always were and will continue to be on the side of SWAPO, and all the patriotic forces of Namibia, against South African occupation." /Ref. 103, p. A1057.

Although SWAPO is presently considered by many to be an ineffective fighting force it is probably as strong as MPLA was in the early 1970's. The Soviets have definitely established a pipeline of military support to SWAPO and could probably be counted on to escalate the shipments if necessary. As events unfold in Namibia that action may soon become a reality. If so the Soviets most likely would come to the fore in both the UN and O.A.U. and attempt to gain support for its clients actions much as they did for MPLA during the Angola Crisis in 1975.

3. Logistic Bases

One of the keys to a successful massive resupply effort is a secure yet nearby logistics base. During the Angolan revolution, the Congo's capital city, Brazzaville, filled this role perfectly. In 1965 Brazzaville had been the scene of a meeting between Cuba's celebrated revolutionary Che Guevara and MPLA's Dr. Agostinho Neto. Soon after, the Cubans, who were there to train the Congo-Brazzaville militia, became involved in training Angolan guerrillas as well. /Ref. 60, p. 1727.

Roughly ten years later (in the summer of 1975) the Soviets and Cubans reached an agreement with President M. Ngouabi of the Congo to use Brazzaville as the staging base for Cuban military personnel sent to Angola. /Ref. 46, p. 137. Thus, a key center for logistics was assured even if Angolan cities like Luanda were blocked off as delivery areas. The

stage was now set for the massive resupply of MPLA.

There is little dubiety that cities throughout Angola can be used as resupply bases in SWAPO's war against South Africa. President Agostinho Neto left little doubt as to whether he would support SWAPO's cause when he stated: "We cannot limit ourselves to our own independence. Our people, the first in Africa to fight South African forces will extend their action to liberate other countries like Namibia and Rhodesia at present occupied by racists (South Africans) which can achieve independence only through armed struggle." [Ref. 104, p. 27]. In keeping with this philosophy the city of Cassinga, Angola became the main headquarters for SWAPO guerrillas. The South African army totally destroyed this base (code named "Moscow") on 4 May 1978. The raid left SWAPO crippled and proved that South Africa had learned at least one lesson from Angola: "Do not allow the enemy to maintain a key logistics base from which to conduct raids over the border!" As a result of this raid it appears SWAPO has broken down into smaller groups than the 600 to 1,000 that were at Cassinga. In addition Soviet material is kept further north in Angola in the cities of "Silva Porto" and "Vila Henrique de Carvalho." [Ref. 48, p. J27]. See Figure 15 for locations. With the use of these cities the Soviets still have logistic bases with direct access to the area to be liberated. Although caution must be exercised (due to the ever present possibility of a South African raid) they can resupply SWAPO continuously whenever they deem necessary.

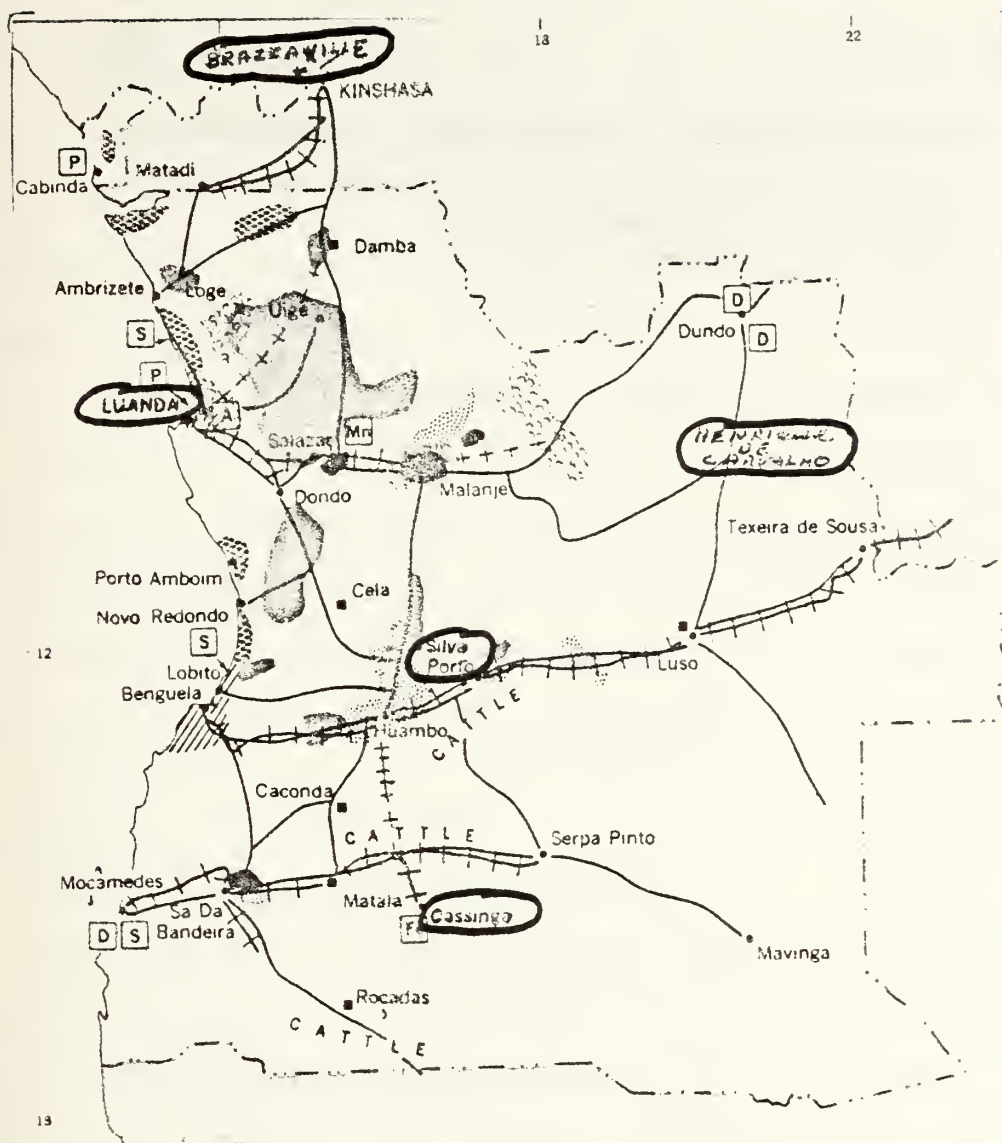


Figure 15. Soviet Logistic Bases in Congo and Angola

The Soviet ability to lay a solid foundation of historical support, provide military and political backing, and establish key logistical bases has enabled them to react to quick changing events in southern Africa. None of these three factors should be underestimated. The failure to secure any one of them clearly would have hampered the Soviet role in Angola. The USSR has already established their "foundation" in Namibia. This is fact not hypothesis! The Soviets have a long history of support for SWAPO. The Soviets have consistently backed SWAPO both militarily and politically. Finally, the Soviets have a logistics network in Angola (which borders Namibia) that is capable of resupplying SWAPO forces quickly and in great numbers. There is a strong possibility that the Soviets will be ready to act should the situation in Namibia deteriorate.

C. THE BUILDUP TO CIVIL WAR

1. Political and Ethnic Divisions

The presence of political and ethnic divisions in both Angola and Namibia only aggravates the problem of external influence. Each faction attempts to receive that "extra" assistance that will enable it to defeat the opposition. The recent move by South Africa in establishing the DTA as the winner of Namibian elections is a step toward "Africanizing" the war in that territory. It in effect sets DTA on a collision course with SWAPO. In a territory already marred by ethnic unrest this move was terribly destabilizing and sends Namibia further on down the road toward repeating the tragic events of Angola.

In Angola's war of liberation there were various

political and ethnic cleavages present. The MPLA drew its support from mixed blood mulattos assimilados who lived in the cities, and from the Mbundu people in north-central Angola. Its rival the FNLA was made up predominantly of the Bakongo tribe which inhabited the northern part of Angola and parts of Zaire. Finally, the third group UNITA was composed of the Ovimbundu tribe which made up roughly 46 percent of the Angolan population and resided in the southern portions of the country. The rebellions of 1961 in Angola had demonstrated the lack of any sort of political unity. During the late 1960's and early 1970's the scramble for external support became a key factor for each liberation group. As liberation came nearer the lack of any common unifier became quite evident as the groups continued to fight "each other" for control of Angola. The only mutual goal was the desire to eliminate Portuguese rule. There is no doubt the Soviets sought to capitalize on the ethnic and political differences in Angola in order to gain more influence than either the U.S. or China. The inability of the groups in Angola to settle key transition issues themselves left the door open for this type of external intervention.

The possibility of a civil war in Namibia took a giant step forward after the December 1978 elections. The DTA had always been divided along racial and tribal lines and as recently as April of 1978 its Herero members clashed with SWAPO's Ovambo supporters. The Ovambos who make up over 46 percent of the population are strong backers of SWAPO's "war of liberation." If the war is successfully "Africanized" by South

Africa it would eventually pit SWAPO against DTA and the right wing (all white) AKTUR. The liberal NNF would most likely be divided but could form a third force under the leadership of Andreas Shipanga or Brian O'Linn. In all probability they will most likely be split up based on their ethnic cleavages rather than any political beliefs. The question on every Namibian's mind will be whether to accept gradual change with traces of apartheid (DTA) or to fight with the forces of SWAPO to totally liberate the country.

The ethnic and political divisions are present in Namibia just as they were in Angola. Similarly, Namibia is unable to reach an internal agreement as to how it should go about its transition process. For the Ovambos, East Caprivians, Okavangos, Hereros, Damaras, and whites it will all cost the same. They will settle with their lives what they cannot agree on peacefully. South Africa can prolong the process by its presence in Namibia but eventually it too will want to be relieved of the burden of fighting in "another" country. When that day comes the war will be fought by the Namibians themselves with the likely assistance, of the external powers.

2. Breakdown in the Peaceful Transition Process

The peaceful transition that was so close at hand in Namibia appears ill fated. As in Angola, the various participants cannot reach a compromise agreement. Angola also had come close! Three of the groups (MPLA, UNITA, FNLA) met in Alvor, Portugal on January 10-15, 1975. At that time they agreed to form a transitional government that would remain in

power until elections in October of 1975. Under the conditions of the Alvor Agreement, Portugal would remain neutral and withdraw its forces on independence day, November 11, 1975. The three groups departed Alvor with a peaceful transition in sight. However, it was not long until fighting started up again. Rather than orchestrate international support for the settlement plan (in the UN or O.A.U.) the U.S. decided to try to influence the outcome by authorizing a covert \$300,000 grant to the "anti-communist" FNLA. The Soviets not about to see their organization (the MPLA) outdone stepped up their arms shipments to "tip the scales" back in their direction. By April, full scale fighting had been resumed and the peaceful process became only a memory of what could have been.

Fortunately, the U.S. learned that it was a mistake to have not taken the lead in the peaceful transition process in Angola rather than try to outdo the Soviets at their own game. However, the past two years of negotiations have not brought about the peaceful solution for Namibia that the Western powers have worked so hard to find. South Africa's raid on Cassinga, SWAPO's vacillations, and finally South Africa's rejection of the UN plan all played a part in dooming the process. The decision by South Africa to hold their own elections only caused more international outrage. A future UN plan could take months to negotiate and even then might fall through the cracks. There are two main factors that make a peaceful solution very difficult to attain. First, South Africa refuses to allow SWAPO to assume power even if they turn out to be the legitimate choice

of the people. They refuse to think SWAPO could win an election and will do everything in their power to prevent it. Second, SWAPO (if it should happen to lose a fair election) would quite likely not accept the results and would continue to fight thereby disrupting any new government before it had a chance to take office.

Therefore, as the negotiations continue it would appear that no peaceful solution is imminent. At present the negotiations are "at a standstill" over South Africa's and DTA's new election demands. This is a very dangerous condition for without a plan there is no recourse but to continue the "armed struggle." As in Angola the inability to compromise will cost the parties concerned quite dearly.

3. Lack of an International Control Force

Despite the lack of a peaceful solution rival groups poised on the brink of war can be restrained by a UN or O.A.U. peacekeeping force. If a UN peacekeeping force had been installed during the period following the Alvor Agreement the hostilities between FNLA, UNITA and MPLA might have been prevented.

The Angola crisis was the perfect example of when and where UN forces were needed. External intervention could have been minimized and a great victory for the UN achieved. However, it was not to be, largely because the U.S. National Security Council's "40 Committee" recommended a course of action to "beat the communists" rather than to find an acceptable African solution. This simply played into the Soviets hands who were undoubtedly surprised yet delighted to see the situation settled by force.

It should not be forgotten that the Soviets refused to support the African states on the critical issue of a peace-keeping force in Namibia in 1967. They simply did not want an effective United Nations peacekeeping military body in southern Africa. [Ref. 105, p. 78]. In the Soviet view "armed struggle" is the only way to truly achieve liberation. [Ref. 25, p. 30]. Thus any peacekeeping force is simply one more obstacle to overcome.

It is unfortunately misunderstood that a UN or O.A.U. peacekeeping force is not to say a peaceful transition plan has been approved; it is simply a device to prevent disagreements from escalating into open hostilities. A force is needed desperately in Namibia to accomplish this objective. Instead of being attached to the UN peace plan it should be treated as a separate item desired only to prevent an escalation of fighting between South African and SWAPO forces.

There is presently no international control force in Namibia. South African troops illegally occupy the territory and fight daily with Soviet equipped SWAPO freedom fighters. It is a definite threat to peace yet, as in Angola, no force has been installed to prevent it from becoming a dangerous international crisis involving various external powers.

4. Colonial Power Hesitancy or Withdrawal

The last and final condition leading up to the outbreak of civil war is the amount of resolve the colonial power has to see the matter through to the very end of the decolonization process. In Portugal the price of the Angola war was high.

170,000 persons emigrated in 1971, 100 thousand draft resisters left the country, and less than 25 percent of the cadets at the nation's military academy attended school. Their military casualties in Africa reached 11,000 dead and 30,000 wounded. Portugal's economy was also in a shambles with the highest rate of inflation in Europe (23 percent) and a 400 million dollar a year trade deficit. Yet, despite these indicators, American analysts ruled out a "black" victory in Angola due to the military strength of the Portuguese armed forces. "As in Vietnam, American policymakers failed to reckon with the basic verity that for rebels to win, it is necessary only for the incumbents to lose." /Ref. 60, p. 235 and 241/.

The Portuguese "resolve" was a crucial factor the West failed to consider when analyzing the transition process of Angola. It is also the remaining factor in the Namibian buildup to civil war. As SWAPO troops become better trained and equipped the war becomes increasingly frustrating for South Africa's army. "Why are we fighting in a country that isn't ours" is as difficult a question for the South African government to answer as it was for the U.S. during the Vietnam war. This feeling, combined with the enormous international condemnation the R.S.A. receives for its actions in Namibia, places additional pressures on the leaders to withdraw from the territory. Finally, the internal pressures in the aftermath of the Soweto riots are also building. There are 18 million blacks that would like a voice in government but are being ignored. The apartheid structure in South Africa is virtually a timebomb in itself!

The fact that Namibia is on the verge of civil war is not a widely held view. The main reason for disbelief is due to the overwhelming military control South Africa has over the territory. It is true that as long as the South Africans remain committed to "holding every inch of Namibia" they will maintain order in the country. This is however a much bigger uncertainty than many suspect. The Soviet foundations discussed earlier, combined with the various ethnic/political divisions, the breakdown in the peaceful transition process, and the lack of any international control force, all combine to place Namibia on the verge of civil war. It is only South African resolve that keeps order within the territory. Once the South African forces lose their will to fight and withdraw (due to external or internal factors) the door will be open for civil war in Namibia. Hopefully the West and South Africa will not allow a vacuum to be created. Perhaps, if South Africa desired to withdraw its forces some type of UN force could be installed or perhaps a transition agreement reached. These are viable options but unfortunately it is doubtful they will occur. History has shown (particularly in Angola) that too much confidence is placed on military strength while factors such as South Africa's internal unrest and declining troop morale are discounted. Those factors will be the true determinants of Namibia's future. If the South Africans wait until they find they "have to get out" it will be too late to prevent a vacuum from occurring. It is just that type of uncertainty that will plunge Namibia deep into civil war and almost assure a large Soviet role.

D. THE SOVIET DECISION FOR LARGE SCALE INVOLVEMENT

1. Lack of U.S. Commitment

The U.S. has had little success linking Soviet support of liberation groups in Africa to the idea of detente between the superpowers. This was perhaps one of the nation's biggest disillusionments. President Carter has hinted of the indirect linkages caused by the impact of public opinion on our political system but that is as far as the U.S. has gone toward convincing the Soviets of the significance of their African ventures.

The lack of a U.S. commitment to a set policy or plan was perhaps its weakest area during the Angolan crisis. In December of 1975 when the Senate voted to cut off further covert aid the U.S. was left totally out of the proceedings. It was probably just as well since no real consistent policy could be agreed on and the operation was being run in truly "a day late and a dollar short" fashion. The American public, and the Congress were obviously in no mood after the ordeal in Vietnam to make a tough stand in Angola. These were all factors the Soviets probably understood better than some of the U.S. policymakers did. In addition, the democratic process enabled the Soviets to read the U.S. intentions well ahead of time and thus make their decisions much easier. In effect the U.S. signaled they would not compete with the Soviets over the future of Angola.

Namibia presents a whole new opportunity for U.S. policymakers. The U.S. has established itself as a vital actor in the transition proces. However, by opposing the armed struggle of Soviet supported SWAPO the U.S. must not allow itself to be placed on the side of colonialism or apartheid. At the same time

the American people and Congress may not want to jeopardize a possible SALT agreement with the Soviets over an "African" issue. Thus a U.S. commitment to anything but a peaceful settlement is questionable. This in itself is commendable and if followed through properly can lead to a lasting settlement of the issues at hand. However, if the parties concerned fail to come to terms the U.S. has no real corner to turn to. In his January 1979 "State of the Union" address President Carter stated that the U.S. will no longer act as the policeman of the world but rather as the peacemaker. Should the U.S. fail in its quest for peace in Namibia the Soviets will most likely face little opposition to what it has continually claimed is its "right to support the liberation groups of southern Africa in their struggle against apartheid and colonial rule."

2. "International Paladin" Availability

In determining to what degree the Soviets will become involved in Namibia it is important to consider the availability of the "international paladins." In Angola the Soviets were able to fight the war of liberation with Cuban troops while they supplied the armaments, technical assistance and top leadership. The cost of human life is perhaps the most expensive of all that is lost in a war of liberation. The Soviets have not had to pay that price for their actions. The Cubans with roughly 20,000 troops in Angola have paid dearly for their efforts. They, and the East Germans, still play a vital role in the Soviet involvement in Angola. At the present time they assist the MPLA in suppressing the UNITA forces in southern Angola.

[Ref. 78, p. 207]. Overall, if it were not for these forces the impact of Soviet aid would be quite different and probably not nearly as effective.

Namibia presents a fine opportunity for Cuban and East German forces to act as liberators of another oppressed nation. Due to the strength of South African forces the task will be much more difficult than the Angolan operations. Because of this factor the liberation forces will most certainly wait for a South African withdrawal or hesitancy to fight before pressing fully into the conflict. Nevertheless, the forces are in Africa and are conveniently located (on the Namibian border) so if the need should arise the Soviets might once again find "international paladins" who for their own reasons are willing to aid SWAPO in its struggle for the liberation of Namibia.

3. Soviet Cost/Benefit Analysis

The similarity of Soviet costs and benefits in Namibia to those in Angola is alarming. There is no substantial difference between what the Soviets hoped to gain in Angola and what they desire in Namibia. Sadly enough the costs have not risen either. Thus Soviet actions will not be based on opportunism or even on some Grand Design formula. Instead the Soviet policymaker can rationally examine the costs and benefits of an involvement in Namibia based on the experiences of a similar involvement in Angola only three years ago. The Soviets themselves now have a feel for: How well did their actions deter Chinese and U.S. influence? What benefits were derived from gaining access to the Cape Oil route? What gains were realized

by attaining access to Angola's rich mineral wealth? Did the benefits outweigh the costs of the Soviet action? There are many that will argue that the Soviet's benefits did not "pan out" in Angola. Then again it is much too early to tell what the long range impact will be. To be certain the Soviets, with Cuban support, shaped the events in Angola. There is no reason to doubt their public pronouncements to the effect that they will not hesitate to assist in SWAPO's struggle for power. This is the most disturbing factor. The benefits most likely could have been expected to remain similar but the costs hopefully would have gone up! In the three years since Angola the U.S. has been unable to convince the Soviets that their actions which incited "armed warfare" rather than peaceful solutions impacted on detente. The events in Ethiopia in early 1978 were a bitter reminder of this failure. Therefore as Namibia heads into a critical stage in its transition process the U.S. realizes that the benefits of a Soviet involvement there are at least as great as in Angola and the costs have also remained the same. This is a discouraging omen when looked at in regards to the Soviet's actions that took place during Angola's critical transition period.

A Soviet decision to step up their involvement in Namibia will be very tempting due to the availability of the Cuban and East German troops just across the border in Angola. The costs and benefits of an involvement there are similar to those listed for Angola and this in itself is cause for alarm. Finally, should a peaceful transition plan fail the U.S. role will

most probably be minimal. It cannot fight on the side of colonialism and apartheid. Neither will it join in the liberation of Namibia by fighting South Africans. Furthermore, any U.S. sponsored resolutions in the UN would most likely be vetoed by the Soviets or outvoted by the General Assembly; which is anxious to see Namibia liberated and South Africa defeated. Clearly, the U.S. would be left out in the cold should its peaceful initiative fail. In summary if a civil war should develop in Namibia there is virtually nothing that would stop the Soviets from becoming involved on a very large scale just as they did in Angola three years ago.

V. CONCLUSIONS

A. SCENARIO ANALYSIS OF NAMIBIAN CONFLICT

There are indeed many scenarios that can be envisaged for Namibia. It was extremely challenging to refine them down to only two. However, through an analysis of the various actors involved and by drawing from the "lessons of Angola" it was possible to determine the likely paths Namibia might take toward independence. As stated earlier, the transition process for this emerging nation is critical. It is during this timeframe that Namibia sets a course that will determine its future economic, political, ethnic and military stability. Above all it will determine the amount of international recognition the new government will receive once it is installed. This is a crucial factor to consider in light of South Africa's recent unilateral elections in Namibia last December.

There are two transition scenarios envisaged at this time. The scenarios are:

Scenario I - United Nations supervised and controlled elections with an international military force present.

Scenario II - Republic of South Africa supervised and controlled elections with its own military force present. The winner of these elections (the DTA) proceeds to set up its own government in Namibia.

These scenarios are both still viable possibilities. In July of 1978 it appeared that Scenario I would probably occur. However, South Africa's rejection of the UN plan in September

of that year, coupled with the RSA's decision to conduct its own elections in December, has shifted the momentum toward Scenario II. The outcomes of these scenarios are extremely diverse. Each scenario will result in different levels of internal unrest, external power involvement and international recognition. In order to gain a better understanding of what 1979 holds in store for Namibia each scenario will be analyzed thoroughly.

If the elections are conducted under UN supervision and control (Scenario I) there are two possible outcomes. First, it is possible that moderates would be elected (NNF or DTA). If this were to occur there would be almost immediate relative deprivation among the blacks. After years of living under apartheid they would expect changes to come quickly in a wide variety of fields. Rapid change would not take place (especially in the area of land reform) and many would be disgruntled with the new administration. This feeling would be intensified by the fact that the white population would remain in their leadership positions while blacks were slowly incorporated into industry (just as they were before independence). Furthermore, until the new nation could adequately defend itself the South African military would most likely be asked to "stay on" by the moderate Namibian government. This is quite probable since SWAPO forces would continue fighting even though the elections were conducted in a fair manner. However, a key factor to consider would be SWAPO's lack of international support due to the UN conducted elections. This would severely hamper their operations since

countries such as Angola, Zambia and the Soviet Union would be hesitant to aid them in a "war of liberation" after a UN sponsored election had taken place. Besides their military support South Africa would quite probably come to terms with the new "moderate" government over the disputed area of Walvis Bay. Anxious to lend stability to a government South Africa felt it could "live with" a complete transfer of the port over to Namibia would probably take place. The most important outcome of all for the newly elected moderate government is that it alone would be internationally recognized as the sole legitimate government of Namibia (thus preventing a large role for the external powers)!

The second outcome of a UN supervised and controlled election (Scenario I) would be the possible election of SWAPO as the new government of Namibia. This would lead to sweeping changes in a short period of time such as the loss of private property to the state and an aggressive policy of land redistribution. Undoubtedly large numbers of the skilled white population would leave Namibia as many unqualified blacks immediately took over their jobs. In order to protect the whites, the South African Army would attempt to step in thus causing a SWAPO/RSA confrontation and resulting in the need for a larger UN peacekeeping force. South Africa would also strongly support any of the ethnic groups in Namibia that were opposed to SWAPO even at the risk of receiving widespread international condemnation. One area that South Africa most assuredly would assume a hard line would be the negotiations over Walvis Bay. Here South African troops and naval forces would prevent this vital port from

falling into SWAPO hands. The area would be destined to be a subject of dispute for years to come. However (just as in the case where the moderates won) the all important outcome of a SWAPO victory would be the fact that SWAPO alone would be the internationally recognized legitimate government of Namibia.

The outcomes described concerning an UN supervised and controlled election (Scenario I) are the peaceful solutions to Namibia's transition process. This peace would be due to the fact that the international recognition of the elected groups would minimize the impact of the external powers. The presence of an international control force both during and immediately after the elections would also provide the internal stability this emerging nation desperately needs. The problems that Namibia faces after independence would be much easier to handle if the transition is accomplished peacefully. Scenario I is what the Western group (led by the U.S.) has been trying to achieve for almost two years now. The recent demands by the DTA have halted these negotiations. Hopefully a compromise agreement can be reached so that Namibia may determine its own government and not simply rely on SWAPO and the external powers to decide its fate.

The first part of Scenario II has already taken place. On December 4-8, 1978 South Africa with its military forces in control of Namibia supervised and controlled its own elections in that territory. At this time the winner of those elections (DTA) is dangerously close to fulfilling the second phase of that scenario (establishing its own government in Namibia).

If the UN cannot come up with a compromise solution that South Africa, the DTA and SWAPO can all accept the future will indeed be bleak for Namibia.

If the DTA were to set up its own government there would be relatively few changes in the country. Once again there would be great relative deprivation among blacks. This feeling would be intensified by the slow incorporation of the blacks into industry while the whites maintained their top level and skilled positions. In an attempt to bolster support for the DTA the South African government would quickly turn over Walvis Bay to Namibia. In addition the South African army would be "invited" to stay on in order to protect the new government. Ethnic fighting would intensify throughout Namibia over the moderates "selling out" as a puppet regime of South Africa's. Meanwhile SWAPO forces could escalate their fight with the increased support of the UN, O.A.U., and the Soviet Union. This would be possible since the DTA government would have no international recognition. In fact, the UN has already proclaimed the December 1978 elections null and void. Thus if Scenario II reached fruition the results would quite likely be disastrous. The country would be torn by internal unrest between ethnic groups and at the same time involved in an intensified "war of liberation" with SWAPO. The lack of any international recognition would open the door for the external powers such as the Soviet Union to play a major role in the Namibian crisis.

The key outcome of Scenario II is indeed the lack of international recognition the new government would receive and the

subsequent external power involvement that would take place. This is in sharp contrast to the minimal effect the external powers would have if Scenario I could be achieved. It appears now that the chance for a UN supervised and controlled election process is slim. By taking matters into its own hands South Africa was acting to protect what it saw as its own vital interests. It would not allow a UN plan in which SWAPO could win to take effect. Perhaps it thought Andreas Shipanga's (SWAPO-D) would be able to split SWAPO's support. Maybe it counted on SWAPO never accepting the original plans to begin with. Whatever South Africa's reasoning was for cancelling the UN elections and holding their own it was a serious mistake. Their actions not only intensified the militant nationalists struggle but also prohibited any recognition of Namibia's new government by the international community. It is this type of action which encourages external powers (like the USSR) who may see it as beneficial to their own interests to attempt to "tile the scales" in the Namibian struggle for independence toward a party of their own choosing, in this case SWAPO. Thus Namibia appears to be well on the road toward Scenario II. The present political cleavages, the breakdown of the peaceful transition process (Scenario I), the absence of an international control force, the existence of external logistic bases for SWAPO's use and the previous military and political support given SWAPO by the Soviet Union, does not necessarily assure a massive Soviet role in Namibia's transition process. However, if combined in the future with such factors as a lack of U.S. commitment to become involved,

the willingness of a Soviet "paladin" force, and the hesitancy on the part of the RSA to fight (due to internal or external problems) the situation in Namibia could quickly turn into a bitter reminder of the lessons the world failed to learn in Angola.

B. LINKAGE TO NAMIBIA

The lessons of Angola, discussed in Chapter IV, cannot be taken lightly. As Scenario II begins to take shape in Namibia the prospect of another Angola looms closer. Earlier the key stages of the Angolan revolution were identified and the conditions that led to them were examined. The model was then compared to the present day situation in Namibia. The results are indeed cause for alarm! (See Figure 16 for a complete comparison).

The Soviets have a history of support for SWAPO which includes both arms shipments and political backing. They have also established the key logistic bases necessary to escalate the conflict. Thus the initial stage is already completed and in effect "the Soviet foundation is laid!" The second stage is prevented from reaching fruition only because of the present South African resolve. The ethnic political divisions, lack of a peaceful transition plan, and no international control force all point toward a civil war should the South Africans decide to pull back. Although it is the most powerful army in Africa the possibility does exist and it is a realistic one. Just like the Americans (Vietnam) and the Portuguese (Angola) it might simply become a matter of "will" not military strength. The

The Angola/Namibia Comparison

The "Model"		Angola	Namibia
Stage 1	The Soviet Foundation		
Condition 1	History of Support	Early 1960's	Early 1960's
Condition 2	Military/Political Backing	Arms shipment/OAU + UN support	Arms shipments/OAU + UN support
Condition 3	Logistic Base	Congo, Brazzaville	Cassinga/Silva Porto/Henrique de Carvalo, Angola
Stage 2	The Buildup to Civil War		
Condition 4	Ethnic/Political divisions	Various ethnic cleavages/MPLA, FNLA, UNITA	Various ethnic cleavages/DTA, AKTUR, NNF, SWAPO
Condition 5	Breakdown in Peace Plan	Alvor Agreement Jan 1975	UN Plan Sept 1978
Condition 6	No International Control	NONE (no action taken)	NONE (part of UN plan)
Condition 7	Force		
	Colonial withdrawal/hesitancy	Portuguese Coup Apr 1974	Sanctions by UN/RSA
Stage 3	Large Scale Soviet Involvement		Internal Unrest (Soweto) June 1976
Condition 8	U.S. Commitment	Dec 1974 U.S. Senate Cuts	No linkage to Detente,
Condition 9	Paladin Availability	Covert Support	U.S. committed to peace
Condition 10	Soviet Cost/Benefits	Cubans (flown to Angola)	Cubans + East Germans (In Angola)
		<div>Benefits</div> <div>Costs</div> <div>1. Minerals</div> <div>1. Men</div> <div>2. Influence</div> <div>2. Materials</div> <div>3. Superpower</div> <div>3. Detente</div> <div>4. Comm. Model</div> <div>4. Money</div> <div>5. Cape Oil</div> <div>5. Embarrassment</div> <div>6. Pressure RSA</div> <div>6. International Repercussions</div>	Identical to Angola

CONCLUSION: Only Condition 7 prevents Namibia from becoming deeply involved in a civil war that would signal the beginning of a large scale Soviet involvement. As long as international and internal pressures don't weaken the RSA's resolve the territory will probably not go over the brink. However with no peace plan or international control force in sight it could be just a matter of time before Namibia becomes another Angola.

Figure 16. The Angola/Namibian Comparison

external pressures (such as U.N. sanctions) are continually bearing down on the South African leaders. However, it is the internal pressures due to South Africa's policy of apartheid that is the real time bomb. Roughly 18 million blacks have no say in the South African government. The memory of the Soweto riots still lingers! In essence only the resolve of the South African army keeps Namibia from civil war. Ironically, South Africa's elections (in which DTA participated and won) only served to "escalate" and "Africanize" the conflict not diffuse it.

The third and final stage concerning "large scale Soviet development" is equally distressing. The U.S. has been unable to change Soviet views on detente and thus most likely will not deter them from taking strong measures in support of SWAPO. The situation does not lend itself to any U.S. action in opposition to SWAPO since that would place it on the side of colonialism and apartheid. The only role that the U.S. can fill is that of the "peacemaker." This is indeed a vital one but if the peace plan fails there is virtually no leverage the U.S. can exercise to prevent a large Soviet role in Namibia's "armed struggle." The availability of large numbers of Cuban and East German troops just across Namibia's border in Angola is also cause for worry. These "international paladins" are ideally located and no doubt capable of giving fraternal assistance to SWAPO in Namibia. Finally, the costs and benefits of a Soviet involvement in Namibia differ very little from those listed by many scholars as justification for Soviet involvement in Angola. Thus all

indications seem to point toward a large scale Soviet involvement once Namibia becomes engulfed in a civil war.

How far away from civil war is Namibia? The key factor presently preventing the war is the enormous strength of the South African Army. (See Figure 17 for comparison to armies of Cuba, GDR and Angola.) Unfortunately too many fail to understand that there is very little "long term" security in this type of situation. Unless a peaceful transition process is reached quickly in Namibia, southern Africa will soon have another Angola on its hands. Another key lesson of Angola is clear. It is that there are more important factors than sheer military strength that must be considered when analyzing a critical transition period. The policymakers concerned would do well to remember the words of French statesman Georges Clemenceau, "that war is indeed altogether too serious a matter to be left in the hands of generals." [Ref. 97, p. 386]. The best solution lies in a peaceful transition process. If the U.S. allows the present negotiations to flounder, it will be just a matter of time until the proponents of "armed struggle" take the lead in the liberation of Namibia. Hopefully, if the lessons of Angola are considered this will not be allowed to happen.

C. U.S. POLICY : A LOOK AT THE FUTURE

After years of simply supporting the status quo in Africa the U.S. now finds itself carving out a new foreign policy on the continent. Angola awakened the U.S. to the "forces of change" that were working to destroy the last bastions of colonialism. It also awakened Western intelligence agencies from

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Population: 17,230,000
Military service: 18 months.
Total regular forces: 157,000, incl
92,000 conscripts.
Estimated GNP 1975: \$43.7 bn.
Defence expenditure 1976: 10,233 m
Ostmarks (\$2,729 m).
\$1 = 3.8 Ostmarks.

Army: 105,000, incl 67,000 conscripts.
2 tank divisions.*
4 motor rifle divisions.*
1 Scud brigade
2 artillery regiments.
2 AA artillery regiments.
2 anti-tank battalions.
1 airborne battalion
About 2,400 T-54/-55, T-62, 600 T-34
med tks; about 115 PT-76 lt tks;
BRDM scout cars; BMP, BTR-50P/
-60P/-152 APC; 76mm, 335 122 mm,
108 130mm, 85 152mm guns/how;
120mm mor; 110 122mm, 140mm, 240
mm RL; 24 FROG-7, 12 Scud B SSM,
57mm, 85mm, 100mm ATK guns; 82mm
RCL; Sagger, Snapper ATGW; 14.5mm
23mm SP, 57mm and 100mm AA guns;
SA-7 SAM.

RESERVES: 350,000

CUBA

Population: 9,420,000.
Military service: 3 years.
Total armed forces: 175,000.
Estimated GNP 1970: \$4.5 bn.
Estimated defence expenditure 1971:
290m pesos (\$290 m).
\$1 = 1 peso.

Army: 146,000.
15 infantry 'divisions' (brigades).
3 armoured brigades.
Some independent 'brigades' (bat-
talion groups).
Over 600 tks, incl 60 JS-2 hy, T-34,
T-54/-55 med and PT-76 lt; 200 BTR-
40/-60/-152 APC, some BRDM armd
cars; 100 SU-100 SP guns; 105mm,
122mm, 130mm and 152mm guns and
how; 30 FROG-4 SSM; 57mm, 76mm,
and 85mm ATK guns; 57mm RCL;
Snapper ATGW; 12.7mm, 14.5mm,
37mm, 85mm and 100mm AA guns.

DEPLOYMENT: Angola 15-20,000.

RESERVES: 90,000.

Figure 17. Comparative strength of armies of Cuba,
GDR, Angola and South Africa



Figure 17. (continued)

ANGOLA

Population: 5,400,000.
Military service: Voluntary.
Total armed forces: 30,000

Army: 30,000.*
85 T-34, 45 T-54 med, some 75 PT-
76 lt tks; 90 BTR-40/BRDM-2
armd cars; 170 BTR-50P/OT-62
APC; 120 guns incl 105mm,
122mm; 110 BM-21 122mm multiple
RL; 1,000 82mm mor; 2,000 76mm,
82mm RCL; Sagger ATGW; 25mm,
85mm, 100mm, AA guns; SA-7 SAM.

SOUTH AFRICA

Population: 26,230,000 (4,300,000
White).
Military service: 12 months
Total armed forces: 51,500 incl
35,400 conscripts).
Estimated GNP 1975: \$34.6 bn.
Defence expenditure 1976-77: 1,300 m
rand (\$1,494 m).
\$1 = 0.870 rand (1976,
0.712 rand (1975).

Army: 38,000 incl 31,000 conscripts
(180 women).
1 armoured brigade.*
1 mechanized brigade.*
4 motorized brigades.*
2 parachute battalions.*
6 field and 2 medium artillery
regiments.*
6 light AA artillery regiments.*
8 field engineer squadrons.*
5 signal regiments.*
141 Centurion, 20 Comet med tks;
1,000 AML-245/60, AML-245/90 Eland,
50 M-3 armd cars; 230 scout cars;
250 Saracen, Ratel APC; 25-pdr,
5.5in gun/how; 17-pdr, 90mm ATk
guns; ENTAC ATGW; 204GK 20mm, K-63
twin 35mm, L-70 40mm, 3.7-in AA
guns; 18 Cactus (Crotale), 54
Tigercat SAM.

RESERVES: 138,000 Active Reserve
(Citizen Force). Reservists serve
19 days per year for 5 years.

Reference: International Institute of Strategic Studies, London, England,
1976-77.

Figure 17. Comparative strength of armies of Cuba,
GDR, Angola and South Africa

their smug self assurances that the military strength of the colonial powers was too great to allow the black majorities to liberate themselves. Even today few people take the time to look past South Africa's overwhelming military power and analyze its international and internal vulnerabilities caused by its policies of apartheid. South Africa itself tends to play these matters down. Despite international isolation South Africa maintains that "like Israel we will survive." It maintains that it is only 15 years behind the U.S. in the area of civil rights and furthermore it has the most representative government on the African Continent. [Ref. 187]. Yet, despite these factors and its long history of support for the U.S. it now finds itself the target of America's human rights denouncements and is also the recipient of U.S. solutions for South African problems. Why is it that the U.S. appears to be suddenly anti-South Africa?

U.S. policy toward South Africa is heavily influenced by two things: Colonialism and Apartheid. These are not issues that U.S. policymakers "dreamed up." They are two fundamental problems in Africa today. Colonialism is not a new concept and South Africa is no more guilty than any of the other nations in history that maintained a colony. However to disobey a UN ruling for 33 years and not expect to be criticized for maintaining a colonial possession is asking a little much of the world community. Surprisingly enough this is not South Africa's main problem. Even if Namibia had been granted independence by now South Africa would still have the scorn of the international

community. This of course is due to its policy of apartheid. The U.S. does not and should not condone this policy. It is as un-American as Communism. U.S. policymakers have come to that same conclusion. If South Africa is foolish enough to pursue a policy in which 4 million whites virtually ignore the problems of living side by side with over 18 million blacks their government will eventually collapse. It is true that the U.S. has had close ties with South Africa and in fact imports numerous raw materials from them. South Africa is also quick to remind the U.S. of their role in fighting communism in Africa and protecting the Cape Oil route. The U.S. realizes these factors but at the same time must not compromise itself and what it believes in. Thus U.S. policymakers are presently following a proper course. America has not deserted South Africa. On the contrary it has been one of the few nations in the 1970's that has stood by the country. The U.S. is now, however, consistently applying pressure on the RSA to change its policy of apartheid not because it is worse than others in Africa (like the Nigerian or Ugandan regimes) but because it wants to see South Africa survive. This is a just and appropriate course for America to follow. A South Africa with apartheid has no future! Recently Namibia has been the focal point of U.S./South Africa relations. It is here that South Africa must be awakened to the futility of both colonialism and apartheid. U.S. policymakers have been unable to convince South Africa that the time for change is now while they are still in control of their destiny. To awaken South Africa to this fact

is one of the key U.S. policymaking challenges of the future for it will ultimately determine the fate of South Africa itself.

Besides the dilemma of South Africa the U.S. is faced with trying to cope with quick changing events not only in Namibia but in Rhodesia and Ethiopia. What is the proper role for the U.S. policymaker to assume in these conflicts. Is supporting those forces that are fighting communist liberation groups the answer or should the U.S. revert to supporting the status quo? Perhaps taking no action would be best, it would keep the U.S. out of future Vietnams? Or maybe the answer lies in the ancient art of diplomacy, could that solve the crises? There are people that can be found to support any of these policies. Which one will the U.S. utilize in dealing with the upcoming critical events in Africa?

The U.S. cannot afford to do nothing in response to these events. In fact the key lies in the U.S. taking preventative action before crises occur not after. Inaction on the part of the U.S. would be destabilizing not only in Africa but throughout the world. It would mean another victory for the USSR, a reduction in U.S. great power influence, and would result in a feeling of helplessness on the part of many U.S. allies.

Armed struggle in support of anti-communist forces does not seem to be the best solution either. The U.S. in the past has determined that this was the correct policy. It took ten years of supporting the South Vietnamese to convince policymakers otherwise and even then the lesson wasn't learned. Only a few years later the U.S. destabilized the Alvor Agreement (a peace-

ful solution to Angola) by sending 300,000 dollars to the anti-communist FNLA. Of course the Soviets were playing this same game (with MPLA) but does that mean the U.S. had too? This action was followed by a U.S. "inaction" in the international forums of the UN and O.A.U. Why the U.S. had decided that "armed struggle" was the key to Vietnam and Angola is difficult to understand. These actions demonstrated America's inability to utilize the ultimate weapon of those who desire peaceful solutions: that of diplomacy.

The U.S. foreign policy of the future must be centered around the art of diplomacy. Namibia provides an excellent opportunity for practicing the true profession of international relations. The peaceful solution to Namibia's transition process can be achieved only through a combination of diplomatic maneuvers not through ignoring the problem or by covert support for anti-communist forces. First, the U.S. must orchestrate the efforts of the UN, O.A.U., and Front Line States toward a peaceful settlement. In the UN it must continually take the lead in the negotiation process and use sanctions if necessary to nudge South Africa into agreement. In dealing with the FLS the U.S. should immediately expand diplomatic relations with Angola and offer Western financial and technological help. The FLS has a powerful impact on SWAPO's negotiating position and this move could very well bring about a major breakthrough. Regarding the O.A.U. the U.S. should continue to push for African solutions to African problems and encourage a greater role for the organization; other than its present one as "arms

supplier" to the liberation movements. Second, the U.S. should emphasize the linkage of Soviet actions in Africa with such issues as trade and strategic arms talks. At issue is really a test of wills. The U.S. must be able to play the game in Africa according to its rules not the Soviets. There should be no doubt in the Soviet's mind that if they escalate the armed struggle in Namibia that their relationship with the U.S. will suffer. Third, the U.S. must utilize the Chinese as a moderating force in Africa. Chinese influence in the Third World could prove a valuable tool in bringing about a peaceful solution to Namibia. China is also quite anxious to prevent the Soviet sphere of influence from expanding and thus might prove extremely receptive to U.S. overtures. Finally, the U.S. should not hesitate to use trade and "normalization" with Cuba as a tool in making Castro reevaluate his policies in Africa. These are important benefits that he would like to attain and both would cause him to think hard before he became involved in another Angola type adventure.

The art of diplomacy is the best method of insuring a peaceful settlement in Namibia. Fortunately from all indications it appears that it is the policy America has opted for in southern Africa. This is a sign that perhaps the U.S. did learn its lessons in Vietnam and Angola. It still however has a long way to go. There is still a lack of "consistency" in American foreign policy. It is not always sure which way it should go or whether it should go at all. Example: Are the Cubans in Africa stabilizing or destabilizing? One day they are and the

next day they never were. This is a serious weakness of present U.S. policymakers; for one day it might be Mr. Young's opinion the next Mr. Brezinski's and the next Mr. Vance's. Who really speaks for America? The President, perhaps? Undoubtedly consistency emerges as one of the keys to a successful foreign policy. In the future, if U.S. policymakers can be consistent while at the same time skillfully executing the art of diplomacy with the other actors involved in Namibia it may bring a peaceful transition process to this troubled territory and a reassuring victory for all those who oppose the "armed struggle" solution in southern Africa.

D. WHY A U.S. ROLE IN AFRICA?

There is growing concern that America has lost something in the last decade or so. It no longer seems to be able to "shape" world events. It was caught off balance in the oil crisis (1973), the liberation struggle in Africa (Angola 1975), and the Shah's recent ouster (Iran 1979). Although the Soviets have had their share of setbacks they still seem to have that drive and aggressiveness characteristic of a nation that knows where it is going and how it intends on getting there. The United States plays a major role in the Soviet view of their future. Particularly in their analysis of the "costs" of certain actions in areas like Namibia. The advice of Joseph Stalin to "insert the bayonet and if steel is encountered withdraw but if mush is encountered continue!" is something the U.S. should not ignore. Should the USSR become heavily involved in Namibia's transition process U.S. citizens should realize that

today in Africa the U.S. represents a large amount of that steel that must not allow Soviet probes to go unanswered. This obviously does not mean the U.S. must become military involved in Namibia. As Presidential candidate Carter himself once said, "I would never again get militarily involved in the internal affairs of another country, unless our own security was directly threatened. I don't think that this is an isolationist attitude at all; I don't think that that's what the American people want!" /Ref. 106, p. A97. At the same time the U.S. must take some action regarding Namibia. As discussed earlier, the policy of the future concerning Namibia will most likely be that of "consistent diplomacy." There is a chance however that this policy will not be followed through on. It will be stymied by those voices in government who for their own particular motives will not let the diplomatic procedures take place. First there are those who will say that there is no real threat to peace in Namibia (due to their misunderstanding of the situation there). Second there are others who will voice alarm but will not want to take action due to political repercussions it may have on other issues such as SALT. Finally, there are those who will simply give up on the situation and state that there is nothing the U.S. can do about it. These are the same three stages experienced by Britain's Baldwin Government (which failed to recognize the threat of the massive armament of Germany in the 1930's). /Ref. 107, p. 7807. As the crisis in Namibia looms closer many Americans wonder why the United States is even involved there. The present administration must be able to

answer this question, not as the Baldwin Government answered its people, but rather in a consistent and straightforward manner.

First, it should be made known that Namibia is a threat to international security. Intelligence reports emphasizing the enormous strength of the South African Armed Forces are ignoring the key factors involved in the conflict: colonialism and apartheid. These factors combined with a knowledge of the internal pressures on both Namibia and South Africa indicate that the area is on the verge of civil war and subsequent Great Power involvement. The failure to recognize similar features in Angola led to a miscalculated U.S. involvement in that country in 1975.

Second, unfortunately there is political maneuvering over whether or not the U.S. should link SALT and Detente with the Soviet's future actions in Namibia. Failure to maintain a "good record" with the Soviets could also prevent a successful re-election in 1980. Thus domestic political motives begin to play a large role in deciding U.S. policy in Africa when they should really play little if any part at all.

Thus from simply these two factors (optimistic intelligence reports and domestic political motives) the U.S. citizen could get the erroneous picture that events in Namibia were not important and the U.S. does not need to play a major role there. Finally, the third factor comes into play. Perhaps the U.S. leaders will simply be convinced that it is too late to do anything in Namibia and decide to just give up and hope for the

best. This is not an unbelievable statement. The United States own former Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, was once quoted as saying, "the U.S. is on a downhill and cannot be roused by political challenge. My job is to persuade Russians to give us the best deal we can get recognizing that the historical forces favor them. The American people have only themselves to blame because they lack the stamina to stay the course against the Russians who are Sparta to our Athens. /Ref. 108, p. 3197. It is obviously very easy to see how an American can be misled as to why the U.S. is even involved in Namibia. It may all depend on what voice he or she is tuned in on the optimist, the political planner or the pessimist.

Why should the U.S. take any action regarding events in Africa? The cornerstone to American involvement there rests in the belief that every person should have the freedom of choice. The U.S. believes that when given a choice man will choose freedom over Communism. The real enemy in Africa today then becomes quite visible. It is not Angola, the MPLA, SWAPO, or the Republic of South Africa. The enemy is the Soviet Union which projects its power into Africa's emerging nations and places the people in those nations under the leaders that it has brought into power. The enemy is the Soviet Union whose beliefs and values run counter to all that America stands for. It is foolish to ignore the Angolas and Ethiopias as Soviet/Cuban "Vietnams." These nations are examples of Soviet expansionism. It is equally as foolish to think that one day these nations will see the light and become democracies. It is not

that they don't want to but rather they will never have the chance. The Angolas, Ethiopias and Namibias might possibly be the future Hungarys, Polands, and Czechoslovakias of Africa. If the U.S. can free these vulnerable African nations from Soviet/Cuban dependency they might gradually be won over to democratic tendencies despite their present ideological slant. Freedom of choice would prevail. How can the U.S. halt the growing Soviet dominance over troubled African nations?

NSC 68 touched upon the key part of the answer when it stated: "Our fundamental purpose is more likely to be defeated from lack of will to maintain it, than from any mistakes we may make or assault we may undergo because of asserting that will. No people in history have preserved their freedom who thought that by not being strong enough to protect themselves they might prove inoffensive to their enemies." [Ref. 109, p. 317]. The answer then lies in the determination and will of the U.S. to actually stop Soviet manipulation of these new nations. If it is decided that America does not desire to halt the Soviets then a change in what this country believes in and stands for is in order. However, if the decision is made to take action then it should be promulgated as a firm policy to both allies and foes alike.

Let there be no doubt, no inconsistency and no "waffling" on the issue of Soviet expansionism. U.S. action can then be based on official policy not secretive strategic CIA ventures. Careful orchestration of UN and O.A.U. resolutions backed up by strong and aggressive U.S. diplomacy can prevent Soviet

initiatives from reaching fruition. This will require alert and properly informed policy makers who plan ahead and take full advantage of peace opportunities when they arise. A valuable lesson was learned in Angola where little was done to save the Alvor Agreement. The U.S. is applying this lesson well by taking the lead in the Namibia negotiations. Why is the U.S. involved in Africa? For the same reason it is involved around the world: the U.S. is a peacemaker and watchdog against Soviet expansionism. It is now time for the U.S. to play this role more fully. The aftermath of Vietnam has lulled the nation into a sense of complacency about the USSR. The country has grown timid in dealing with Soviet expansionism and seems to want to pretend that it doesn't exist as a threat. It is time for the U.S. to enter the international arena with a new enthusiasm. This does not mean sending American servicemen off to the four corners of the globe or secretly supporting every anti-communist liberation group in existence. The lessons of these actions have already been learned in Vietnam and Angola. However the U.S. cannot let the fear of making those mistakes keep them from taking action. It must simply demonstrate the wisdom and determination to see to it that those events never reoccur.

Perhaps the continent of Africa will be where the U.S. assumes the role of "peacemaker" for all freedom loving people. Simply talking about being a "peacemaker" and then criticizing Marxism, armed struggle, and the breaking of the spirit of detente is not the answer. It avoids the real problem America faces. It is time to face up to the reality that Soviet Power

projected onto the African continent is forcing emerging nations under communist influence. It is time for dealing with the Soviets not ignoring the conflict and pretending it does not exist. An old American statesman's words cannot help but ring true today as the U.S. struggles to find its proper role in complex problem areas like Namibia:

"It is not the critic who counts, not the man who points out how the strong man stumbled or where the doer of deeds could have done better."

"The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena, whose face is marred by the dust and sweat and blood. Who strives valiantly, who errs and comes up short again and again ... who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotions and spends himself in a worthy cause, who at best knows in the end the triumph of high achievement, and who, at the worst, if he fails, fails while daring greatly so that his place will never be with those cold and timid souls who know neither victory nor defeat."

Despite the errors, the frustrations and the losses in striving for peace and freedom in areas like Vietnam, Angola, and Namibia they are indeed the ultimate "worthy causes." It is not the failure in struggling to meet these challenges that America should fear but rather that one day it will grow so

cold and timid that it will know neither victory nor defeat.
Namibia is yet another chance to enter the arena and maybe
this time reach that high achievement: Peace.

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